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## Summary of the world federation plan: An outline of a practical and detailed plan for world settlement

Ely Culbertson

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# SUMMARY OF THE WORLD FEDERATION PLAN



AN OUTLINE OF A PRACTICAL AND DETAILED  
PLAN FOR WORLD SETTLEMENT



"In our own age and in our own time it has been an American (Ely Culbertson) who has brought forward the strongest and most realistic Plan for creating a world police system that will protect all in collective security and protect each even against all."—DOROTHY THOMPSON

ELY CULBERTSON



COMMENTS ON THE WORLD  
FEDERATION PLAN FROM  
IMPORTANT PEOPLE IN MANY  
FIELDS OF ENDEAVOR:

"The World Federation Plan is the most concrete and comprehensive system for the world settlement that I have yet seen. Mr. Culbertson has made a striking, original, realistic, imaginative and statesmanlike attempt to forecast and plan for the future."—HAMILTON HOLT,  
*President of Rollins College, Former Executive Director, Woodrow Wilson Foundation*

"In our own age and in our own time it has been an American who has brought forward the strongest and most realistic Plan for creating a world police system that will protect all in collective security and protect each even against all. It may seem remarkable that the author of this World Federation Plan, which has thus far proved impervious to the searching analysis of the most careful and realistic thinkers, should be Ely Culbertson. But Mr. Culbertson, as it happens, has spent his lifetime studying political structures and psychological forces, and is a constructor of systems. We can no more have peace without a concrete system than we could have a United States without the Constitution."

—DOROTHY THOMPSON

"Ely Culbertson has turned his genius for combining theory with practice, mathematics with psychology, from one of the least important to the most urgent of human problems—the abolition of war. He has boldly met all the seemingly insurmountable problems in the way of world federation, and offered what seems to me a workable solution of each. His plan is practical both from the viewpoint of humanity's future and of the immediate interests of the dominant powers. A program of world organization such as he proposes can both hasten the victory of democratic civilization and conceivably make it permanent. I don't know what else can."—MAX EASTMAN

CONTINUED ON BACK FLAP



**SUMMARY OF THE**

# **World Federation Plan**

**AN OUTLINE OF A PRACTICAL AND DETAILED PLAN  
FOR WORLD SETTLEMENT**

by

**ELY CULBERTSON**



**1943**

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

(Reprinted by permission from *The Reader's Digest*)

ELY CULBERTSON, creator of the Plan for a World Settlement presented in these pages, is a man of versatile genius and international background. His father, an American mining engineer, founded the Russian oil fields of Grozny in the Caucasus; his mother was the daughter of a Cossack general. His early years were spent in Russia. While still in his teens he felt the knout of the Czar's soldiers, and was locked in a death cell from which every day a new batch of his fellow revolutionaries was taken out to be shot. Here he learned the religion of humanity; here also he learned to play cards with concentration and with skill.

Though known to millions all over the world as the originator and dramatizer of a system of contract bridge, Ely Culbertson thinks of cards as his hobby, and the by-product of his real vocation, which is the field of mass psychology. For over 20 years he has been studying how men behave as crowds and nations, and trying to find out how they can be made to behave more nobly and intelligently than they do.

The passion for knowledge, the desire to understand mankind and contribute something to its betterment have haunted him all through a life of extraordinary contrasts and richness. He has studied at six great universities, and attended the little red schoolhouse of three forlorn revolutions. He has read deep and widely in philosophy, history, economics, and also stood in breadlines, picked fruit, planted corn, panhandled, ridden the blind baggage, and gambled scientifically for a living.

Whatever he has done he has tried to do better than it was ever done before, and often succeeded. He pyramided a deck of cards into a world-wide movement. When he turned to writing and told his own story, *The Strange Lives of One Man*, the literary critic Burton Rascoe called it "one of the greatest autobiographies of all time; the story of a man who not only wants to make his peace with God but with man and with himself."

Ely Culbertson regards the Plan here outlined as a realization of his true lifework—the attempt to make peace between man and man.

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## COMMENTS ON THE WORLD FEDERATION PLAN

*Hundreds of nationally-known experts have studied The World Federation Plan and almost all of them, regardless of the political or ideological camps to which they belong, have expressed strong approval. In this respect the Plan has wrought a political miracle. Former isolationists and interventionists, pacifists and militarists, have found in the Plan the basis for a common policy toward Total Peace. There is space here to quote only a few of these distinguished authorities.*

"The World Federation Plan is the most concrete and comprehensive system for the world settlement that I have yet seen. Mr. Culbertson has made a striking, original, realistic, imaginative and statesmanlike attempt to forecast and plan for the future."

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"In our own age and in our own time it has been an American who has brought forward the strongest and most realistic Plan for creating a world police system that will protect all in collective security and protect each even against all. It may seem remarkable that the author of this World Federation Plan, which has thus far proved impervious to the searching analysis of the most careful and realistic thinkers, should be Ely Culbertson. But Mr. Culbertson, as it happens, has spent his lifetime studying political structures and psychological forces, and is a constructor of systems. We can no more have peace without a concrete system than we could have a United States without the Constitution."

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MAX EASTMAN

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"From one point of view, it is impossible to criticize the details helpfully because the structure Ely Culbertson has reared is so ingenious, so organic, so integrated, so beautifully articulated and perfected as it stands that it is almost irrelevant, not to say irreverent, for anyone to suggest knocking off a portico in one place or adding another somewhere else."

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN,  
*Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government,  
Williams College*



"What we need today is close, analytical thinking about first principles of political and economic organization. One proposal such as Ely Culbertson's 'quota force' plan for a world police, is worth ten exhortations to 'think internationally.'"

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN  
*New York Times*

"I think The World Federation Plan is by far the best blueprint of a possible complete world organization that I have seen."

PHILIP C. NASH, *President,*  
*University of Toledo*

"Mr. Culbertson has produced a Plan which is at one and the same time an excellent synthesis of the best features of other proposals and an invention which places his Plan in a category of its own. His special creation is the quota system for the world armed forces. I have tested this in innumerable ways and must now admit that it seems always to work—that is, it works in such a manner as to make future aggression of one nation against another relatively impossible."

PROFESSOR EDUARD C. LINDEMAN,  
*New York School of Social Work*

"Mr. Culbertson has thought out the most perfect political machinery yet devised by the mind of man to prevent international wars."

PROFESSOR CHARLES A. ELLWOOD,  
*Duke University*

"Ely Culbertson's Plan is brilliant in its conceptions, startling in its solutions, original at many points, and so actuated by a desire for justice and fair play for all the peoples of this war-torn earth as to compel my complete admiration."

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

"I am deeply impressed with its realism and its great possibilities."

PROFESSOR KURT F. REINHARDT,  
*Stanford University*

"My first reading of Mr. Culbertson's Plan for World Federation left me deeply impressed with its magnificent potentialities. His detailed blueprint seems to bring the idea of world government down out of the realm of fantasy and into the arena of practical projects capable of realization."

RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD, *President*  
*Jewish Peace Fellowship*



## ABOUT THE PLAN AND ITS OBJECTS

The blueprint for a bridge into the future, anchored in the realities of today and capable of withstanding the stresses and strains of the nations of the world, cannot be drafted in a few months or years.

The actual work of taking the accumulated results of life-long research, and from them building a new system for a Cooperative of Nations, began in 1939. Early in 1942 the first draft of the blueprint for The World Federation was completed. Then began a series of practical tests. The Plan was submitted to a number of specialists in the fields of political, economic, psycho-social and military sciences. Valuable criticisms and suggestions resulted from this. In the fall of 1942 an improved blueprint was submitted to much larger groups of intellectuals and specialists. Some leading personalities in the governments of the United Nations were consulted unofficially. In addition, various tests of mass reaction were made by means of lectures and group discussions. This booklet is the third edition of the Plan.

The World Federation Plan is based on a total victory over Nazi Germany and her militarist allies. Total victory means winning the war and winning the peace.

The Plan is a detailed, concrete and global proposal for world settlement. It is so designed that it can be put into operation immediately and used as a psychological weapon in shortening the war. The Plan implements, specifically and comprehensively, the Atlantic Charter.

Four basic types of social forces are integrated in the Plan: political (structure), economic (substance), psycho-social, and military.

*The World Federation Plan is based upon the following assumptions:*

Humanity can progress only in a system of society based on freedom of opposition, and must regress in a system of society based on opposition to freedom.

The revolution in heavy weapons has physically disarmed the masses within the nations, rendering them helpless in defense against violent minorities. The revolution in communications, through control of propaganda in radio and press, has morally disarmed the masses.

The revolution in heavy weapons has also disarmed most of the nations, concentrating the monopoly of decisive armaments in the hands of but a few nations. Unless a way is found to segregate these decisive heavy weapons, greater wars and tyranny are inevitable.

All freedoms, therefore, are based on Freedom from War.

Freedom from war is impossible through mere continuation of the present defensive coalition among the United Nations. The clash of conflicting interests and fears, after this war, will destroy this coalition of the United Nations as surely as similar coalitions have been destroyed in the past.

The World Federation Plan offers an adequate substitute for power-politics and resort to force by individual nations.



## THE SPECIFIC OBJECTS OF THE WORLD FEDERATION PLAN

### *During the war:*

1. **To insure true unity within the United States** by providing our nation with a Positive Ideal to fight for, acceptable to the overwhelming majority of Americans—materialists or idealists, nationalists or internationalists, big business or labor. The American people are united on the negative issue of what they are fighting *against*; they are disunited on the positive issue of what they are fighting *for*.

2. **To maintain true unity among the United Nations** by providing *now* precise and complete Peace Aims acceptable to all, which guarantee to each nation its rights and essential sovereignty.

3. **To shorten the war** by proclaiming *now*, to the enemy nations, specific and just Conditions of Peace, and by guaranteeing that these conditions will be fulfilled.

### *After the war:*

4. **To guarantee, against any contingency, the safety of the oceanic approaches to the American continents**, by the establishment of a non-imperialistic American Strategic Zone of leased military and air-naval bases in the islands of the Western Hemisphere and also in the Netherlands East Indies, Indo-China and Thailand. This guarantee is in the nature of "temporary insurance" to the people of the Americas and Malaysia, until satisfactory conditions for permanent peace are fulfilled.

5. **To guarantee the permanent security of the United Nations** by a Pact of Perpetual Cooperation, maintained through The World Federation.

6. **To guarantee the same security to all the nations of the world** by extending this Pact of Perpetual Cooperation to the nations now enemy or neutral, through equal membership in The World Federation.

7. **To establish world-wide educational, scientific and economic institutions.** To insure the continued development of international cooperation in economic activity, and to raise the living standards of the nations of the world, by developing a network of cooperative international organizations to deal with raw materials, communications, finance, labor and various other international problems. To embody within The World Federation the present agencies which the United Nations, the League of Nations and the larger peace foundations have already established for the furtherance of these ends.

8. **To insure the continued development of democracy** throughout the world by a world-wide program of education, and by making it impossible for fascist dictators to rise through military domination of their peoples or to remain in power through conquest of other peoples.

9. **To prevent armed aggression by any sovereign state against any other, and thus to perpetuate World Peace.** The fundamental goal of The World Federation Plan is the elimination of the social cancer of war.



## THE PROBLEMS OF WORLD SETTLEMENT

Victory for the United Nations in the final battles of this war will be in vain unless it is followed by a lasting victory in the Battle of Peace. And yet, the United Nations are wholly unprepared for the peace to come. Should Germany collapse this year, the democratic world will find itself less prepared for peace than it was for war.

There are, indeed, government agencies and private societies in which hundreds of committees are working on the problems of the post-war world. But they have no comprehensive and specific plans, in the sense of an architect's blueprint or a general's plan of campaign. Theirs are vague, noble resolves, "declarations of intent"—plans to make plans in some more or less remote future; or, they deal with specialized parts of the vast architecture of war and peace.

It is truly tragic that while the campaigns of war are calculated in detail and far in advance, the most important campaign of all—the Battle of Peace—is to be conducted without any comprehensive master plan.

The Atlantic Charter cannot be called a "plan" in any sense of that word. It is nobly conceived, but it merely cites broad principles upon which—it is hoped—a concrete plan can be built.

The specific blueprint for the Treaty of Peace to come is not even in a stage of preliminary preparation, judging from a recent statement by Vice-President Henry A. Wallace: "The United Nations . . . are groping for a formula which will give the greatest possible liberty without producing anarchy, and, at the same time, will not give so many rights to each member nation as to jeopardize the security of all." Note the word "groping."

Blocking the approach to the solution of the problems of lasting peace are four fallacies. These fallacies have paralyzed the creative action of the United Nations governments, and have drugged into apathy enlightened public opinion.

*The first fallacy is: "Let's Win the War First."*

*The second fallacy is: "Revive the League of Nations."*

*The third fallacy is: Clarence Streit's "Union Now."*

*The fourth fallacy is: The Long Armistice.*

### FIRST FALLACY: "LET'S WIN THE WAR FIRST"

The most dangerous fallacy today is, "First we must win the war, then we can talk about the peace." As a result, the statesmen of the democracies may find themselves trapped after this war as disastrously as they were trapped after the last war. Again they may find themselves groping feverishly for a solution amid the power-politics of the victor states, the political strife within the nations, and the clamor of war-weary peoples for "normalcy." A world settlement that makes sense cannot simply be pulled out of a hat, not even by a Roosevelt or a Churchill.

War and peace cannot be so neatly separated. Hardheaded peace-planning can be as formidable as a skyful of bombers. A concrete proposal for the Treaty of Peace, proclaimed *during the war*, can probably save a million or more lives and enough money to regenerate the post-war world. Our United Nations, once they know what each will receive after victory, will become ten times more united. Our enemies, once convinced that peace—even a stern peace—does not mean their annihilation, will be ripe for internal divisions, and therefore nearer to defeat. As it is, the



United Nations have no positive ideal: they know what they are fighting against; they do not know what they are fighting for.

The "win the war first" school of thought derives much of its strength from another and equally fallacious assumption—that after this war the United States will be at least as strong as, if not stronger than, it is *now*. It is true that physically we will be stronger; but psychologically we will be very much weaker. Our present allies will no longer need our precious fighting machines. Strategically, they will be in Europe itself, while we are thousands of miles away. Politically, they are bound by the ties of immediate common interests in Europe and Asia, which are *theirs*; while we might easily be considered as interlopers.

We can secure much of what we wish now. But the nearer we approach the end of the war the fewer of our wishes will be granted. And should China and Russia and Britain have their own plans for the kind of world they wish to live in—plans which might be widely divergent from ours—there is not much we could really do but to withdraw once more into our shell and await new wars.

#### SECOND FALLACY: "REVIVE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS"

This writer is a humble disciple of Woodrow Wilson. But acceptance of his ideal of a World Covenant of Nations does not imply a blind adherence to the antiquated machinery of the League of Nations, which was no more than a hastily modernized revival of the plans of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French pacifists.

The League of Nations was a beautiful child, with a big heart beating spasmodically, a cloudy head, and a puny muscular system. It was doomed from the start, not so much by world events as by the defects of its own constitution.

The authors of the League of Nations sought to reconcile two incompatible principles: the principle of *unlimited* sovereignty of nations, and the principle of a sovereign law of nations. As a result, the League of Nations fast became a Babelian assembly of ambassadorial puppets.

The argument that the present world tragedy could have been prevented if America had fulfilled her obligations toward the League of Nations, is misleading. For many years Britain and France were the leading members of the League. They were all-powerful as against Germany without arms and Russia in turmoil. Back of Britain and France was mobilized the good will of the peaceful nations of the world, including the United States which, as in the case of the Japanese aggression against Manchuria, was ready to take an active hand. Time and again the League could have stopped the aggressor nations in their tracks. And yet the League of Nations collapsed like a house of cards. The main reason for this collapse was that the Articles of the League's Covenant were not rooted in a strong body-politic of a true World League, independent of the power-politics and intrigues of the sovereign states composing it. The League was a creature of its makers, the victorious powers; and when the Anglo-French alliance was shaken by suspicion and rivalry (which never fail to arise among victorious allies) the League itself became paralyzed.

If the American people come to look upon the fallacy of American "betrayal" as truth, the only logical conclusion after this war will be to reestablish the League of Nations with American participation. Strong groups here are already agitating for this, as though the new Battle of Peace can be won with the same broken weapons which lost the last one.



There is no question of the sincerity of the supporters of the League of Nations. But they would be horrified to think that, if they gain their point, they will merely be leading in through the back door that same old war horse of power-politics, only this time with a shiny blue ribbon on its tail, gold-lettered "The League of *United Nations*."

The true solution of the world's problems does not lie in futile attempts to resurrect the League of Nations (which has already been buried with military honors) but in trying to build a new House of Nations on the imperishable foundations of Wilson's great ideal. The toil and sacrifice contributed to the cause of the League of Nations by men and women of good will has not been in vain. Wilson and his co-workers for the League have awakened a world consciousness that will never die. For the first time, humanity has beheld a World Center around which the civilized forces of peace and freedom might crystalize against the primeval forces of war. The League of Nations collapsed because of its unsound structure, but its defeat was only temporary. Its essential spirit will be reborn, and will triumph, in another World Federation that embodies its principle—the supremacy of a Law of Nations over the anarchy of individual nations. Here is the meaning of the titanic struggle between the eternal Wilsons and the perennial Hitlers.

### THIRD FALLACY: CLARENCE STREIT'S "UNION NOW"

While the League of Nations' structure springs from the sixteenth century, that of "Federal Union" leaps into the twenty-first century. Mr. Streit advocates a democratic United States of the world, modelled almost exactly after the United States of America. He would give his world government the same enormous powers as our Federal Government. His world parliament would be elected directly by the people of each country, *on the basis of population*. Thus, nations like China, which have the largest populations, would have the largest representation in the parliament, and their politicians, if they so choose, might therefore control the world government, together with its armed forces. But, at the beginning, Mr. Streit proposes to exclude China, Russia, Latin America and most of the world, on the ground that these countries have not yet attained the stature of true democracies. Until these vast blocs of nations "democratize" themselves, Mr. Streit restricts his World Federal Union to "Union Now" with Britain. This immediately defeats Mr. Streit's own purpose—to set up a world federation—destroying the most attractive feature of his plan. The English-speaking nations, once in control of Mr. Streit's Federal Union, would take good care not to admit any large foreign nation—be it ever so democratic—and thereby lose voting control of the congress.

But even from the standpoint of Union Now with Britain, Mr. Streit's plan would be entirely unacceptable to any British government. Since America has a great advantage in population over all the other English-speaking nations, it would fully control Mr. Streit's Federal Union congress. This means that the politicians of the United States would control the politicians of Britain, and the Mother of Parliaments would be reduced to the status of a Vermont legislature.

Thus, Mr. Streit, in trying to escape the ambassadorial puppets of the League of Nations, falls into the clutches of the politicians of his own Federal Union.

The basic fallacy of Mr. Streit's plan lies in the unrealistic assumption that the dominant force of today—nationalism—can easily be abolished by writing a constitution, any constitution. The United States



Constitution is still a marvelous instrument when applied to the needs of a people bound to each other by a common language, geography, and interests; when stretched across the world to cover different races and hundreds of clashing states, as is advocated by Mr. Streit, it necessarily must break down in almost every one of its Articles. The peoples of the world today are not to be united by a common democratic ideology any more than the Russian peasant is fighting for the Karl Marx Manifesto.

The ideal of world citizenship is in the heart of every man who perceives a divine spark within the human race. Mr. Streit and all those who follow him have rendered, and still are rendering, great service by fanning the flame of this ideal. But this ideal cannot be reached by a fanatic leap over Himalayan obstacles. The world today is a disunion indivisible. There is nothing wrong with Mr. Streit's plan except timing. Before the Brotherhood of Man there must first be an intermediate stage—a Cooperative of Sovereign Nations. Before the World Parliament of Man there must first be the World Federation of Nations.

The League of Nations and Union Now are the only world-plans specific enough to be worthy of that name. The League of Nations was crippled from the start by fatal defects of structure which made it a tool of the politicians of individual powers; and Union Now, while eliminating these defects, brought in its own and equally fatal inner contradictions, making every individual power a tool of the politicians of its world government.

No plan has been put forth which takes into full account the revolutionary changes in sciences, military weapons, communications and economics of our generation. Nor is there any proposal which takes into account the fundamental fact that *wars of machines, unless stopped, will multiply, and their tempo will accelerate, as new and vast blocs of overpopulated nations become industrialized and learn how to make fighting machines.*

To avert the catastrophe of an Industrial Civilization running amuck, nothing better is offered than superannuated plans or, worse still, formless economic abstractions.

#### FOURTH FALLACY: THE LONG ARMISTICE

In many quarters of Washington it is seriously advocated that instead of a Treaty of Peace there shall be an indefinite armistice period.

It will be seen that The World Federation Plan provides for a Transitional or Armistice Period of two years. A similar Transitional Period is advocated by a number of leading statesmen and organizations. The object is to lay a proper foundation for shifting from the totalitarian war basis to the democratic peace basis; for restoring, as promised in the Atlantic Charter, the sovereignty and frontiers of the individual nations; for immediate relief of all distressed peoples, now friends or enemies; and for inaugurating a long-term, world-wide program of economic and educational reconstruction within a framework of collective security.

This is quite different from the proposed "Long Armistice," in which the deliberate intent is *not* to restore the independent political organs of the nations after the war, but to continue indefinitely with the existing war controls until various economic remedies will have had their hoped-for effect upon the sick world. In this Long Armistice theory, British and American troops are to occupy, for a decade or more, not only the territories of the defeated nations, but all the territories in western Europe previously occupied by the Nazis. During this time, it is proposed to



inaugurate (with the United States as chief financial contributor) a world-wide program of economic reconstruction, with no other framework and no higher law than that of United Nations' "commissions."

It is claimed that during the years following the war the world will be in a "state of chaos" and that a "cooling-off" period for the feverish body-politic of the world will be necessary before writing even the first article of the constitution for a permanent world order. All this is like advising someone to count ten before getting really mad. But one cannot count ten with a hand clutching one's throat. Far from "cooling off," the hatreds and chaos in Europe and Asia would mount during the Long Armistice. Unavoidably, the American troops of occupation would be shot at. Then one of two things would happen: either the American troops would have to be withdrawn under the insistent demands of the soldiers themselves and their indignant families back home, as after the First World War—again losing the Battle of Peace; or the American generals, in self-defense, would have to resort to Hitlerian tactics of repressions, executions and an American Gestapo. This would mean ruthless dictatorship not only in the occupied foreign territories *but at home as well*. For it is impossible to carry out a world-wide policy of dictatorial control without corresponding control at home.

The American nation can have Democracy, or it can have a try at the military domination of the world. It cannot have both.

The Long Armistice proposal is based on two assumptions, both of which are fallacious: (1) that the United Nations will automatically remain "united" in the post-war world; and (2) that a post-war program of gigantic global expenditures will so greatly raise the economic standards of all nations that there will no longer be a reason for war.

The phrase "United Nations" has a basis of reality so long as the danger from a common enemy is greater than the danger from the ambitions of one's own allies. But once the pressure of the German and Japanese menaces is removed, the old historic fears and ambitions cannot help but resume their sinister march toward new wars. Each of the leading powers of the United Nations—Britain, Russia, China and the United States—has its own economy, ideology and political structure. Their national aspirations are fundamentally and widely divergent. If the United Nations are to be preserved as a nucleus for a post-war world that makes sense, then this alliance must be based upon the supreme authority of the Law, embodied in the constitution of a true Cooperative of Nations.

As to the second assumption of the Long Armistice protagonists, no one can deny the great importance of economic factors in the causation of wars, nor the necessity of removing social injustices. The World Federation Plan provides for economic reconstruction, specifically and on a world-wide scale. But this does not mean that we must put the economic cartel before the political horse.

It is proposed by the Long Armistice economists that, instead of restoring national sovereignty to the defeated and occupied countries, there are to be economic "planning boards"; instead of demobilization from war there is to be re-mobilization for peace. There are to be international monopolies of raw materials, foreign trade, shipping, and so forth. These monopolies will be pooled, operated and owned by a new Collectivist Internationale—the governments of the United Nations.

This author is in sympathy with the significant work now being done by Vice-President Wallace and by various peace foundations in connection with economic reconstruction. The "economy of abundance" theory con-



tains great possibilities. But a long-term world economic reconstruction cannot be carried out on the shaky foundation of Anglo-American bayonets, "assisted" by Russia. The Herculean task of raising the world's standard of living must be measured, not in terms of years, but in terms of decades or generations; and long before the effects of the economy of abundance are felt there will be new wars.

There is no more dangerous fallacy than to assume that only poor and suffering nations start wars. As a rule, the contrary is the truth. Modern war is a big business, requiring vast amounts of equipment and therefore a fairly high degree of industrialization and prosperity. Neither Hitler's nor the Kaiser's Germany, nor Mussolini's Italy, nor the militarists' Japan, was impelled to war by insufferable economic stringency. Whatever the *indirect* causes of war (and there are scores of such causes), the *direct* cause of this war and the usual cause of all wars of aggression reside in a purely psychological mechanism: a clique, in control of a nation, accumulates enough decisive weapons and enough malleable cannon-fodder; having done so, it proceeds to solve the economic "problems" that perpetually beset the nation, by the simple expedient of looting other nations. But a clique does not drag its country into war because it is impelled by an inexorable economic determinism; it does so because it *calculates* that it is stronger than its neighbor and that it can get away with the booty. If the clique *calculated* that its chances of winning were slim, then no number of "economic causes" would induce its members to risk their own heads. Wars cannot be reduced, let alone abolished, by appeasing with waves of abundance the ever-greedy cliques of leaders and their party followers. As long as the leaders of a nation can obtain enough decisive weapons to attack another nation and get away with the loot—*just so long will there be wars of aggression*. Economic conditions might create a *climate* favorable to wars of aggression; but only the possession of decisive weapons by those in control of a nation can make such a war possible.

It is one thing, therefore, to give American food and assistance to the distressed nations after this war—which is our obvious duty; and it is quite another thing to expend billions of American dollars in building industrial plants throughout the world, *unless we make certain that these peaceful plants will not be turned against us later in the shape of fighting machines*.

The first thing to do, therefore, in seeking to solve the problem of lasting peace, it not to attack the *causes* of war (which are myriad), but the *means* of making war, which are few. These means are heavy weapons—armored ships of land, sea and air. *If* we can permanently segregate these decisive weapons into the trusteeship of a World Federation; and *if*, at the same time, we can establish an automatic perpetual alliance of all nations against any aggressor, then we can effectively disarm international gangsters and prevent them from holding up peaceful nations. Then, and only then, can we organize the economic and educational rebuilding of the world, which is the *second* line of our attack upon war.

Before liberating the peoples of the world from economic enslavement, we must chain the war-lords. Before Freedom from Want, there must be Freedom from War. The great British economist Beveridge fully realized that when he based his famous Report upon the fundamental assumption "that the world after the war is a world in which the nations set themselves to cooperate for production in peace rather than to plotting for mutual destruction by war, whether open or concealed."



It will take generations to eliminate the causes of war; it will take but a few months, after the defeat of our enemies, to put an unbreakable strangle-hold on the means of making war. The fallacy of the Long Armistice economists is in timing—in putting the first thing last.

#### THE PEACE MACHINE

Thus, the democracies have reached an absurd situation: because no definite and satisfactory master plan for World Settlement has been evolved, it is openly advocated that *the best plan is not to have any plan*. As a result, the world is heading for a new post-war catastrophe which will dwarf the convulsions following the First World War.

One need not be a prophet to see clearly the sinister shadows of coming events in the post-war world. The time-bombs are already being set to explode in future wars. Ostensibly, Democracy will “triumph” everywhere, since the neo-feudalists everywhere will assume the protective coloration of a democratic front. But once the heavy blanket of this war has lifted, confused and violent struggles for power will be resumed by the political parties and ideologies within each of the democracies, weakening them; and among nations there will be no effective force other than nationalism—distilling, unchecked, the poisons of power-politics for future wars.

The guests temporarily absent from the banquet table of the victors’ post-war settlement will soon return. France—for a thousand years the *enfant terrible* of Europe and for centuries the soul of the world—will rise again. Spain and Italy, wounded in flesh and humiliated in spirit, will also rise. The hundred and twenty million Latins of the still fructifying Roman Empire cannot, without bloody future wars, be denied the historic place in Europe which is theirs. Germany, even though condemned to become a pariah among the nations, will soon enough find new friends and abettors—if nowhere else, certainly in the inevitable rivalries of the victorious allies, and in the semi-chaos of a Long Armistice. The Balkans once more will seethe in their miniature but tragic whirlpools of internecine warfare.

The Industrial Revolution, which bred the last and the present war, will continue breeding even greater wars in the future. The circle of industrial super-states will inexorably expand. Vastly populous nations, long quiescent, will then enter upon the military stage. All will make their bids for a larger place in the sun; and some, for the dominion of the world. In the Middle East, from the Dardanelles to the Himalayas and from the Black Sea to the Blue Nile, the Arab-Ottoman Empire, dormant until now, is being electrified by the Industrial Revolution. Soon the fighting men of Islam will learn how to make the fighting machines of the Occident. Their voice too will be heard. In the East, there loom enormous China and India, whose patience has been sorely tried, and who are fast learning how to turn scientific textbooks into machines. Who can say how and in what direction the machines will be driven?

All these time-bombs of the post-war world are set to explode, some within three or four years, some in a decade or two, and some in a generation. We are but on the threshold of the era of great wars and revolutions.

Unless war is put into a merciless strait-jacket, it will destroy free civilization. It is not enough to defeat the war lords; either war itself must be conquered or it will finally conquer the world.

But war can be conquered only by creating a new Machine of Peace more powerful than the Machine of War which holds the world in thrall.



Can such a Machine of Peace be built? Can the immemorial hatreds of the hundreds of nations of the world be neutralized, and the forces of nationalism which now devastate the world be diverted and integrated into a new system of lasting world peace? Can history be made to reverse its own cruel verdict condemning humanity to the perpetual servitude of war?

I say, Yes. And I shall undertake to prove it.

I say, Yes, because *new and unique circumstances have arisen as a result of the Industrial Revolution which make lasting peace not only theoretically possible, but feasible; and not in some remote future, but immediately after the victory of the United Nations. These new circumstances fall into three groups:*

One: *The revolution in military weapons.*

A just and lasting world peace must necessarily be enforced by a powerful International Police Force. This means effective disarmament of all the individual nations. In the past, such world disarmament was an idle dream because military power was derived from troops armed with light weapons which could be easily procured or manufactured anywhere. Today, as a result of the revolution in military weapons, all but a few of the nations of the world have been virtually disarmed. They are not able to build vast industrial plants for planes, ships and tanks; their rifles and most of their cannon have been made useless; their distances and physical obstacles have been practically obliterated.

The *effective monopoly* of decisive weapons (armored ships of land, sea and air) has passed into the hands of only five industrial nations: the United States, Germany, Britain, Russia and Japan. After the defeat of Germany and Japan, the monopoly will be controlled by the three richest nations in the world, *none of which is land-hungry*. Since the world-controlling monopoly by these three nations will be temporary and will necessarily break down (either because of rivalry among themselves or because of new industrial rivals), it will be to their advantage to establish a system of collective security, *if such a system is possible*.

Two: *The emergence of the United States as the greatest industrial and therefore military power of all time.*

The same Industrial Revolution that made Germany the greatest military power of the old world, enslaving peaceful nations, has made the United States an even greater military power than Germany and the only hope of the enslaved nations. No nation in history has had the power to do so much good or so much evil. But, although America's opportunity is unique, her power will be limited to a few short years by the rapid growth of rival post-war powers.

It becomes imperative, therefore, that the American people seek to perpetuate their own security in cooperation with the nations of the world by establishing a system capable of maintaining the peace of the world against any aggressor.

Thus, during these all-precious moments of unrivalled American power, the American nation can do, almost alone, what no nation has ever done before: *declare lasting peace on the world*.

Three: *The Development of solutions for the hitherto unsolvable problems of collective security, world government and world economy.*

There are three fundamental problems involved in building any system of world order—problems which in the past have baffled the architects of peace. Each of these fundamental problems contains an inner contradiction, the resolution of which is indispensable.



*Dilemma No. 1:* How to disarm effectively all the individual nations and create a powerful World Police Force—which is essential if wars of aggression are to be stopped—and at the same time avoid the risk of creating out of the World Police Force a Frankenstein's monster, a world military organization which may be turned into a world tyranny. The solution of this all-important problem, without which lasting world peace is impossible, is contained in the Quota Force Principle (see page 28).

*Dilemma No. 2:* How to create a world government sufficiently strong to maintain order in the world, and at the same time avoid interference with the essential freedom of the sovereign nations. The solution of this problem is contained in a new System of Regional Federations, integrated into The World Federation, with strict limitation of powers.

*Dilemma No. 3:* How to create a world economy in which the so-called backward nations may be liberated and other nations may move toward a higher standard of living, without at the same time requiring a heavy sacrifice, involving a lowered standard of wealth and welfare, on the part of the industrially advanced nations. The general solutions of the problem of world economic reconstruction are contained throughout The World Federation Plan, particularly in the economic structure of the Regional Federations and in the provisions for economic organizations controlled by the Vocational Senate. In addition, there are special economic solutions dealing with Pooled Colonies, Priority Treaties, Two-Way States, Sealed Outlets, etc.

*Conclusion:* If Dilemma No. 1 can be resolved beyond doubt, and if Dilemmas No. 2 and No. 3 can be resolved in their essentials, then the reader must admit that it is possible to achieve lasting world peace.

*These new solutions have been found and are embodied in a new System of World Federation which, as will be demonstrated later, will insure the permanent military security and freedom of each and every nation of the world.*

It is the object of this Outline to revive faith—this time, a scientifically reasoned faith—in the possibility of a lasting world peace. Lack of faith on the part of our most progressive elements paralyzes their creative efforts. Because many of our intellectuals and national leaders lost the first battle for world peace, fought with the defective weapon of the League of Nations, they jumped to the tragic conclusion that lasting world peace is impossible, except perhaps in some remote future. Surely this is defeatism of the worst kind, because it is founded on superficial assumptions. The irony is that many of the same intellectuals who fought for the ideal of world peace a quarter of a century ago—when it was virtually impossible—are now, when lasting world peace can be made a scientific certainty, fighting against it, or are content with ersatz plans.

In the last generation we fought “a war to end war.” Later, we considered these words false. I say emphatically that these noble words are true today. And I believe I can prove it beyond any reasonable doubt.

EDITORIAL NOTE: While the Outline in this booklet is complete in all its essentials, space does not permit description of the historical background and the analysis of the forces of power-politics, geo-politics, balance of power, nationalism and ideologies, as well as the all-important economic and military forces which dominate each leading power in its relations with other powers. Nor is it possible to make any but the briefest mention of the reasons back of the proposed solutions or for the alternative solutions. In Mr. Culbertson's forthcoming book, “Total Peace,” all these questions will be taken up in greater detail and with a clearer historical perspective.



## THE OUTLINE OF THE WORLD FEDERATION PLAN

The entire World Federation Plan is embodied in the Constitution of The World Federation, which, in effect, contains three different treaties:

The Treaty of Defensive Alliance among the members of The World Federation (now members of the United Nations)—which comes into effect during this war.

The Treaty of Peace with Germany and her allies—which comes into effect upon their surrender.

The Treaty of Perpetual Cooperation—which automatically comes into effect after the Transitional Period (see page 27).

The Articles of this Constitution which deal with the conduct of the war and with the Transitional Period require no amendments to the United States Constitution, but may be adopted as a treaty, or perhaps even under the emergency powers of the President.

### THE REGIONAL PRINCIPLE

1. The world shall be divided into eleven *Regions*. Each Region shall consist of one or more sovereign states, together with their autonomous possessions and colonies, if any.

2. Each Region forms a natural economic, psycho-social and geopolitical unit, and is so arranged that there is a reasonable balance between agriculture, industry, and raw materials.

3. Each Region becomes a *Regional Federation*, and is held together by its Regional Government.

Representatives of the sovereign member-states form the government of each Regional Federation, with strictly limited powers.

Representatives of the member Regional Federations form the Government of The World Federation, also with strictly limited powers.

4. Nine Regional Federations are sovereign and two are autonomous.

The nine sovereign Regional Federations are: American, British, Latin-European, Germanic, Middle European, Russian, Middle Eastern, Chinese, and Japanese.

The two autonomous Regional Federations are the Malaysian (see page 56) and the Indian, under temporary trusteeship of the United States and Great Britain, respectively.

#### *Comment:*

#### WHY THE REGIONS?

The national state remains a dominant force today, and is likely to remain so for a long time after the war. Nationalism cannot be abolished by decree. But there are too many such nation-states to work as satisfactory units in a world organization.

This difficulty is met in the Plan by interposing between the governments of the seventy-odd sovereign nations and the Government of The World Federation an intermediate mechanism of Regional Federations. Each of the eleven Regional Federations becomes both an operating unit within The World Federation and a cohesive force for the member-states composing it.



As for the Regions themselves, they are based not only on political and economic factors, but also on the all-important factor of social psychology. The problem was to find a larger unit, a sort of common denominator, for a group of sovereign states. Such a larger "molecular" unit, or Region, could not be formed on the basis of ideological or purely racial affinities, since most national states contain various ideologies and races. But it so happens that the world divides *naturally* into approximately eleven Regions. The nations composing each of these Regions have a common pattern of culture, economy and tradition which distinguishes them from other Regions. These patterns are based on *psycho-social forces*, which spring from a common heritage of history, tradition, culture, law, and often of language or economy.

Except for the American and British Regions, which are relatively recent arrivals on the stage of history, all the other Regions are *in effect* revivals of ancient empires. Whatever the political or even racial differences between states of the same Region, and however great their passing rivalries and hatreds may be, they have been molded for many centuries into the same characteristic way of life. Only in the American Regional Federation are there two large and distinct patterns: the Latin-Indian in Central and South America, and the Latin-Anglo-American in the north. But for vital reasons of geography and strategy (the Monroe Doctrine) they must form part of the same Federation, on the basis of the Good Neighbor Policy and in the expectation of a higher synthesis of the two great cultural patterns (see page 56).

Thus, the division of the world into eleven Regions merely follows the natural distribution of peoples as determined by history. It closely approaches the Pan-Latin, Pan-Germanic, Pan-Arabic, Pan-Slav, Pan-Danubian and many other ideals, without involving bloodshed or injury to any nation. This alone would greatly reduce the causes of war.

#### THE WORLD TERRITORIAL TABLE

5. The table on the following page describes the composition of each Regional Federation and the frontiers of all the sovereign states and their possessions. The provisions of this table shall be part of the general Peace Settlement to come. Once agreed upon by the Founder-States, they may not be changed except:

- a. By mutual consent of the states concerned;
- b. By plebiscite (within two years after the cessation of hostilities);
- c. When a plebiscite is not feasible, by arbitration (in minor cases) of the World Equity Court.

All plebiscites shall be conducted under the jurisdiction of the World Equity Court and with the direct participation of The World Federation Government, by means of Plebiscite Commissions established jointly with the governments of the respective countries.

Unless otherwise specified, the geographical frontiers of the individual states and their possessions mentioned in the table are those prevailing in January, 1936.

The World Federation Plan provides, in the system of periodic plebiscites and in the World Equity Court, a mechanism for the gradual and more complete post-war readjustment of disputed territories.



## THE WORLD TERRITORIAL TABLE

<i>Regional Federation</i>	<i>Sovereign States</i>	<i>Additions and Subtractions to Possessions and Colonies</i>
AMERICAN:	United States and all the Latin-American republics.	<i>Additions:</i> The territories in the Western Hemisphere now held by non-American states. See Pooled Colonies, page 20.
BRITISH:	United Kingdom, the British Dominions, and Eire.*	<i>Additions:</i> Mozambique, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and the rest of Italian East Africa. <i>Subtractions:</i> Hong Kong, northwest Africa and Western Hemisphere possessions.
LATIN-EUROPEAN:	France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Portugal. Special status for Vatican City—see page 21.	<i>Additions:</i> British northwest African colonies and Liberia. <i>Subtractions:</i> Belgian Congo, Portuguese Mozambique, Macao, Timor, Angola, and Western Hemisphere possessions.
GERMANIC:	Germany, Netherlands,* Austria, Denmark, Norway,* Sweden and Finland.	<i>Additions:</i> Belgian Congo, Angola, and southern Soudan (leading to Red Sea outlet).
MIDDLE EUROPEAN:	Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece.  Turkey, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, united Arabia, Afghanistan, and Egypt, including northern Soudan.	<i>No additions or subtractions.</i> The component states within Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia to be autonomous.
RUSSIAN:	U.S.S.R., including autonomous states of Esthonia and Latvia; Bessarabia up to the Pruth and Danube rivers; strategic frontier with Finland; Mongolia; and parts of Polish Ukraine (subject to plebiscite).	
CHINESE:	China, including Manchuria, Formosa, and all former foreign concessions or possessions.	Tibet and Mohammedan Sinking to be autonomous.
JAPANESE:	Japan proper (frontiers of 1894, plus southern Sakhalin), and sovereign Korea.*	

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\* See paragraph 6, page 19.



## THE WORLD TERRITORIAL TABLE (CONT'D)

### *Autonomous Regional Federations:*

**MALAYSIAN:** Sovereign states of Philippines and Thailand; Netherlands East Indies (under Netherlands sovereignty); Indo-China (under French sovereignty); all small Pacific islands outside the Western Hemisphere, except British and French possessions (under the sovereignty of the Malaysian Federation).

The government of the Malaysian Regional Federation, but not the governments of the sovereign states comprising it, is under special Trusteeship of the United States of America until it attains Regional sovereignty.\*

In selected points of the Malaysian Federation, the United States Contingent of the World Police will occupy, under long-lease, non-imperialistic conditions (as in Bermuda and Cuba today), military and air-naval bases.

**INDIAN:** India.

Dominion or separate sovereign status of states comprising the Indian Regional Federation. The government of the Indian Regional Federation, but not the governments of the sovereign states comprising it, is under special Trusteeship of Britain until it attains Regional sovereignty.\*\*

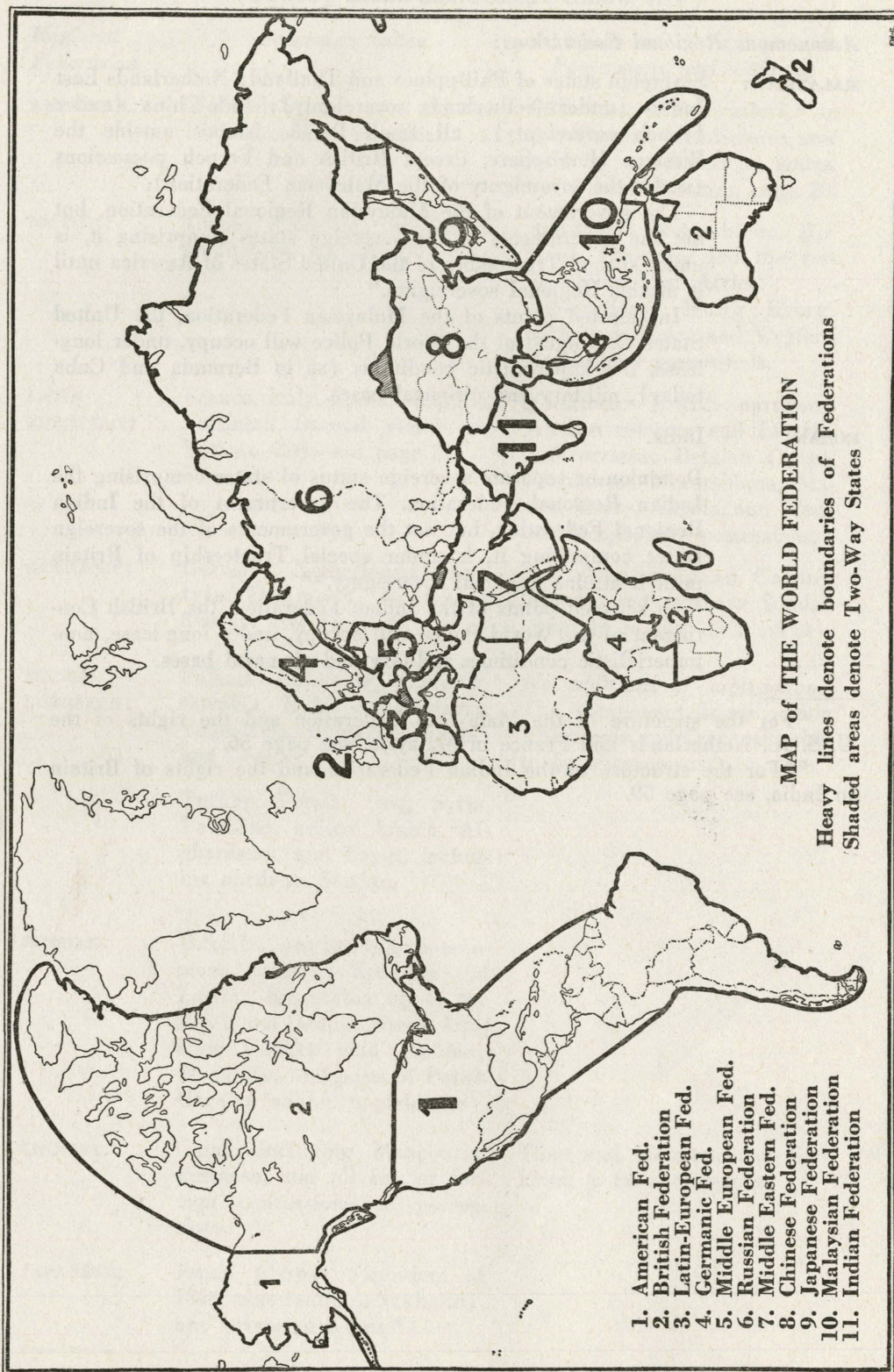
In selected points of the Indian Federation, the British Contingent of the World Police will occupy, under long-lease, non-imperialistic conditions, military and air-naval bases.

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\* For the structure of the Malaysian Federation and the rights of the U. S. A., Netherlands and France in Malaysia, see page 56.

\*\* For the structure of the Indian Federation and the rights of Britain in India, see page 59.







6. *The Right of Transfer from One Region to Another:* Any sovereign state which is not an Initiating-State (the most populous state of a Region) may secede from its original Regional Federation and join another member Regional Federation, provided:

- a. They are contiguous by land, or separated by less than 1000 miles of water;
- b. A two-thirds majority of the population of the seceding state approves through plebiscite;
- c. The other Regional Federation is willing to accept the applicant.

*Examples:* Austria may prefer to join the Middle European Federation; the Netherlands or Norway may prefer to join the British Federation; Eire may prefer to join the Latin-European Federation; Korea may prefer to join the Chinese Federation. Australia may not join the American Federation because they are separated by more than 1000 miles of water; nor may Colombia join the Latin-European Federation.

7. *Two-Way States:* Any country or district situated between two Regional Federations which contains either a highly mixed population (such as Switzerland, Luxembourg, or Armenia) or a special economy (such as Austria, Danzig or Sudetenland) may become, upon a plebiscite, a sovereign Two-Way State, belonging to both Regional Federations. A Two-Way State shall have equal economic rights with other member-states in each Regional Federation to which it belongs, and vice versa; it shall send half of its representatives to each of the two Regional Governments.

The same principle may be extended to certain territories (such as Macedonia) between sovereign states of the same Regional Federation.

This new kind of state will greatly reduce the friction in frontier zones which has caused so many wars in the past.

8. *The Right to a Sealed Road:* Any member-state of The World Federation, upon application to and by approval of the World Equity Court, may have the right to a sealed road (rail or auto) across the territory of another member-state, leading to a sea outlet on the basis of extraterritoriality. The same outlet may also serve for commercial aviation.

*Examples:* Russia may build an outlet to the Persian Gulf; Sweden, to a warm port through Norway; or Bolivia, through Peru. This provision will eliminate one of the most common causes of war.

9. *Internationalized Straits and Waterways:* Certain important straits, canals and waterways shall be internationalized. Suez, Panama, the Dardanelles and other important waterways shall be policed by troops from the National Contingent of the Initiating-State which was the former possessor. The original property rights shall be safeguarded.

10. *Compensation for Colonies:* A fair purchase price, to be determined by the World Equity Court and based upon actual value, shall be paid by a Regional Federation which acquires colonies to the member-



state of another Regional Federation which was the former possessor, provided the latter was not an aggressor-state.

*Example:* The British Federation must compensate Portugal for Mozambique; the Germanic Federation must compensate Belgium for the Congo; the American Federation must compensate Britain, France and the Netherlands for their Western Hemisphere possessions.

11. *The Pooling of Colonies:* All the colonies or possessions of the Latin-European Regional Federation shall be pooled together and administered by the Government of the Latin-European Federation, with rights of trade, immigration and access to raw materials open equally to all the citizens of the member-states of the Latin-European Federation. The same arrangement shall prevail for the Germanic Federation and its African colonies; for the British Federation and its colonies; and for the American Federation and its purchased possessions.

12. *The Rights of Colonial Populations:* All the pooled colonies shall have self-rule. Any colony of more than three million inhabitants may become a sovereign state within the same Regional Federation upon a plebiscite based on a reasonable educational standard. The administration of the Pooled Colonies shall be conducted by the Regional Government under the supervision of The World Federation Government, which shall have full power to intervene for the protection of the native populations. The World Federation shall undertake that the natives be given fair treatment in the development of their economic and educational standards.

*Comment:*

THE PROBLEM OF AFRICA

By eliminating the crazy-quilt map of Africa and by the substitution of three great blocs—the western bloc assigned to the Latin-European Federation, the central bloc assigned to the Germanic Federation, and the eastern bloc assigned to the British Federation—the first important step toward eventual unification of Africa will have been taken. The enormous potential resources of Africa offer enough for the natives and for the immigrants, provided the exploitation of natives is abandoned. The Regional Governments, under the supervision of The World Federation Government, will assure higher living standards and education for the natives, and their eventual sovereignty. The granting of immediate independence to the African people, of whom the great majority are totally illiterate, would simply result in their ruthless exploitation by native *caciques* or inherently fascist politicians of the worst breed.

The proposal to transfer the African and all other colonies to a world organization, immediately after the war, is unrealistic. It would not be acceptable either to victorious Britain or to revived France, and it would be an almost insurmountable obstacle to the establishment of The World Federation. Even if such a proposal were accepted, such a world organization, in possession of the world's colonies, would become a malevolent seat of power-politics and intrigues among the nations. The Constitution of The World Federation, with its Regional structure and Pooled Colonies, offers the best protection and hope for the liberation of the natives. And there is good reason to hope that future development of the African continent will permit the establishment of a twelfth Regional Federation—the African.



13. *The Priority Treaties*: Japan shall have adequate access to raw materials and exports of the Malaysian and Chinese Federations through special Priority Treaties negotiated under the supervision of The World Federation. The Priority Treaties may not exceed one-third of the total foreign trade of the neighboring Federations, and they must be based on competitive prices or goods with any other state or Region. The principle of Priority Treaties may be extended to other Federations in need of indispensable raw materials, such as the Germanic and Middle European Federations.

*Comment:* THE "HAVE-NOT" NATIONS AND RAW MATERIALS

By the pooling of colonial resources in the Latin-European and Germanic Federations, together with the method of Priority Treaties, the problem of raw materials for the principal "have-not" nations, Germany and Italy, will be substantially solved. In addition, the common colonial interests will operate in the Latin-European and Germanic Federations as a powerful cohesive force for peace and unity among their member-states, just as, in the earlier history of the United States, there was a common heritage in the West.

In the case of Japan, there are no sparsely populated territories near her. The method of Priority Treaties offers at least a partial solution during the period of hatreds generated by her own war-lords. But this may not be enough. The worst thing for the cause of lasting peace is to leave any nation, however great the misdeeds of her rulers, in an economic strait-jacket. The best solution of the problem of Japanese-Chinese relations would be a permanent customs union between these two Regional Federations, with equal and unrestricted rights of trade and settlement within the territories of both peoples. It is true that in the first stages of such a union, Japan, which is more advanced industrially, would profit more. But as China's own industrialization accelerated (and the customs union would contribute to this end) the eventual and more lasting economic advantage would lie with China. It is to be hoped that the wisdom and generosity of the Chinese people will overcome the Himalayan heights of hatred that bar such a solution at present. A customs union between these two branches of the Mongolian race—one a land power and the other a sea power—would be of enormous benefit to them both. Nor would there be any objection from outside nations on grounds of power-politics, since the Quota Force Principle (see page 37) removes any danger of aggression by the reunited Mongolians. The sovereign state of Korea would, of course, be part of this customs union. In this manner, while each of the Mongolian states and Regions would preserve its proud personality, all would be reunited in a vast zone of free trade and peaceful cooperation.

14. *The Status of the Vatican City*: The Vatican City shall be a state within Rome, with a somewhat larger territory than at present and with extraterritorial access to its own seaport. The Vatican City shall have all the attributes of a sovereign state and it shall be protected against aggression as in the case of other member-states. But it shall not be required to join the Latin Regional Federation or any other Federation.

15. *The Status of Palestine*: There are two solutions to the Jewish problem in Palestine. It will be the duty of The World Federation Govern-



ment to decide which of the two solutions to adopt, since it is impossible now to foresee the actual conditions that will justify the adoption of either one of these two solutions.

**FIRST SOLUTION:** Palestine shall become a Jewish sovereign state in the following manner:

- a. A large part of the Mohammedan and Christian populations of Palestine shall be transferred to another territory in the Middle East, where equivalent or better land and living conditions shall be provided, together with a reasonable bonus. This transfer shall be effected only with the consent of the groups concerned.
- b. The expenses of this transfer shall be borne, half by the Jewish state and half by The World Federation.
- c. The special religious rights of non-Jewish churches in Jerusalem, as well as the rights of minorities, shall be fully safeguarded.
- d. The creation of the Jewish Palestine state shall in no way affect the rights of citizens of Jewish extraction in other states.

*Comment:* Despite the attachment of the Arabs to Palestine, it is reasonable to assume that a large number of both Arabs and Christians will consent to emigrate if sufficient inducement is offered. On the lands thus vacated, it will be possible to settle the hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews now herded in the ghettos of Europe, thus forming a Jewish majority in Palestine and a sovereign Jewish state.

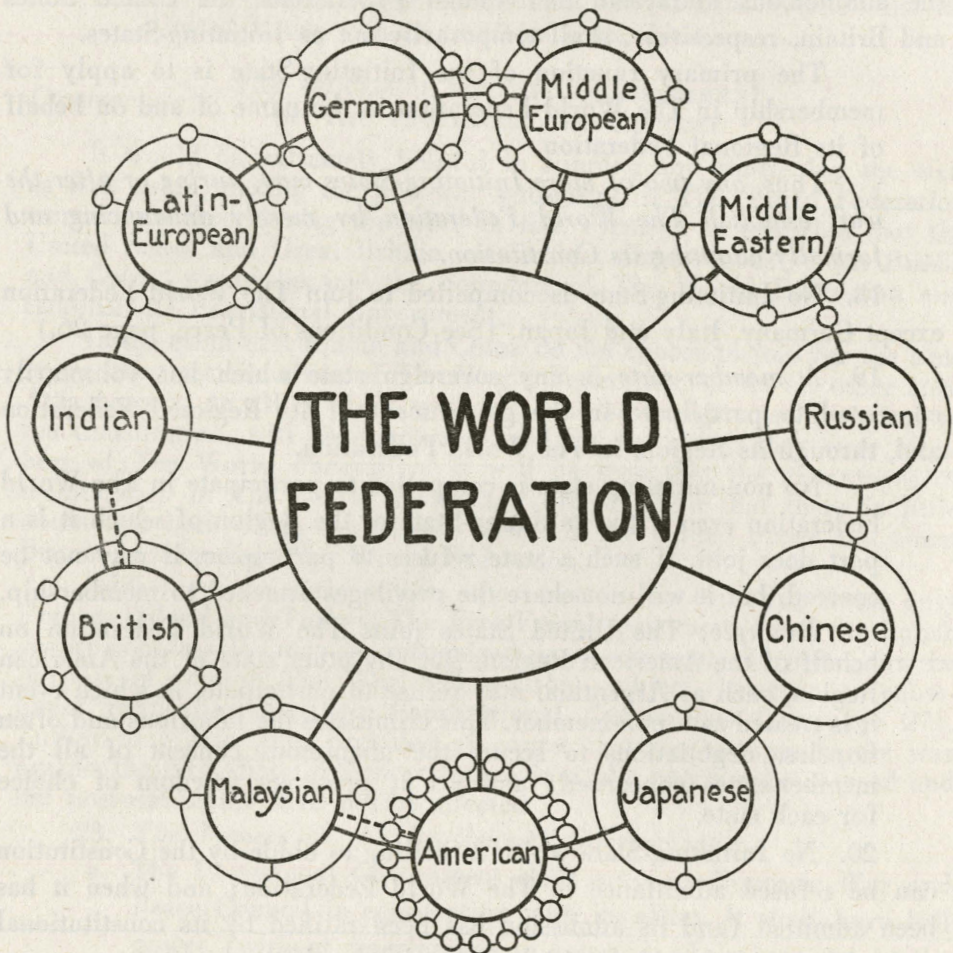
Nothing short of a sovereign Jewish state, the advocates of the first solution say, can remove the Jewish question from the agenda of civilized mankind. But such a solution is possible only within the double framework of The World Federation and of the Middle Eastern Federation. The Jewish problem really arose with the destruction of the Jewish corporate state in Palestine in the first century. This resulted in the intensification of the Jewish spiritual state throughout the world. The solution does not lie in beating down with senseless persecution the fierce flame of spiritual nationalism. It lies in the re-establishment of the Jewish political state, which will operate as a safety valve for the ancient psycho-social forces of the Jews. The Jewish Law must be re-embodied in its own national vessel; and the Jewish nation must be granted its own passport to the family of nations. Then, the historic Jewish problem will dwindle to the size of, say, the Italian, Irish, or Polish "problem" in the United States.

**ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION:** It may happen that not enough Arabs will consent to emigrate from Palestine to permit the establishment of a Jewish majority. At the same time, Palestine is a sacred land to the Jews, the Moslems and the Christians alike. Let Palestine become a ward of The World Federation itself. Let the Government of The World Federation be Palestine's own sovereign state. Then any citizen of the world can go there if he chooses; and every citizen of Palestine will become a citizen of the world. This arrangement will prevail until such time as, through intensified post-war immigration of the now uprooted Jews, Palestine acquires a Jewish majority and, upon a plebiscite, its separate sovereignty is established. This alternative solution, also, can be made possible only through the establishment of The World Federation.



## THE WORLD FEDERATION SYSTEM

*The system of The World Federation, when considered as a schematic abstraction, may be broadly likened to a system or galaxy of suns. Each of the eleven Regional Federations is a "sun." Around each "sun" revolve, on their sovereign axes, a number of states. They are held in their "planetary" orbits by psycho-social and economic forces. The eleven "suns," in turn, revolve around The World Federation Government. And the whole system is held together by the Constitution of The World Federation.*





The Constitution of The World Federation provides for three time periods: Part I covers the duration of the war (under the Provisional Government); Part II deals with the Transitional Period, which shall last two years from the date of the termination of hostilities (also under the Provisional Government); Part III covers the Post-War Period (under the Permanent Government).

#### PART I: THE WAR PERIOD

16. *The Start of The World Federation:* The World Federation comes into being when two or more Regional Federations become members.

17. *Procedure for Joining:* In each Regional Federation, the most populous sovereign state is called the Initiating-State.\* In the case of the autonomous Malaysian and Indian Federations, the United States and Britain, respectively, shall temporarily act as Initiating-States.

The primary function of the Initiating-State is to apply for membership in The World Federation in the name of and on behalf of its Regional Federation.

Thus, *any two or more Initiating-States may, during or after the war, establish The World Federation by merely announcing and formally adopting its Constitution.*

18. No Initiating-State is compelled to join The World Federation except Germany, Italy and Japan. (See Conditions of Peace, page 26.)

19. A *member-state* is any sovereign state which has voluntarily consented to participate in the government of its Regional Federation and, through its Region, in The World Federation.

No non-initiating state is compelled to participate in The World Federation even if the Initiating-State of the Region of which it is a part does join. If such a state refuses to participate, it may not be coerced, but it will not share the privileges attached to membership.

*Example:* The United States joins The World Federation on behalf of the American Region. But any other state of the American Region, such as Argentina, may refuse to participate, in which event it is treated as a non-member. This eliminates the laborious and often hopeless negotiations to secure the unanimous consent of all the member-states concerned; and yet it preserves freedom of choice for each state.

20. No Initiating-State which is willing to abide by the Constitution can be refused admittance to The World Federation; and when it has been admitted (and its admission has been ratified by its constitutional authorities) it can neither withdraw nor be expelled.

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\* In the Territorial Table on page 16, the first-named sovereign state in each Regional Federation is the Initiating-State. France, though probably less populous than Italy, is the Initiating-State of the Latin-European Regional Federation because of the larger total population of the French Empire.



21. In the event that an Initiating-State refuses to join while other sovereign states of the same Region wish to join, then any two of the other states may substitute themselves for the Initiating-State in applying for membership.

#### THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

##### 22. *The Structure of the Provisional Government*

- a. Each Initiating-State which joins The World Federation shall appoint one Temporary World Trustee, with full power to act. This Council of Temporary World Trustees shall constitute the Provisional Government of The World Federation.
- b. The President of the United States or his representative shall be an ex-officio member of the Council of Temporary Trustees, with a deciding vote in the event of a tie.

The seat of the Provisional Government shall be in the United States, with an extraterritorial status.

##### *Comment:*

#### THE PROCEDURE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

It would be extremely helpful in winning and shortening the war, as well as in making the post-war settlement, if The World Federation were established *during the war*. In that event, it is probable that the United States and Great Britain, preferably simultaneously with Russia and China, would become the Founders of The World Federation and establish its Provisional Government.

In the event that Russia and China do not choose to join for the time being, they remain allies of The World Federation, as do all other anti-Axis powers. As allies, their territories and sovereignty, as described in the Constitution, will be guaranteed as fully as though they were members of The World Federation. It will be seen that the advantages of membership in The World Federation are so great that there is little doubt that both China and Russia will join the United States and Great Britain in founding The World Federation.

Aside from the Axis powers, there remain as Initiating-States only France, Poland and Turkey. The Free French government and the Polish government-in-exile may be recognized as governments *de facto*, for the purpose of joining The World Federation—subject, however, to subsequent ratification by their Constitutional Conventions (see page 27). Turkey may also join, provided of course that she engages in the war against the Axis. Should Turkey fail to join, she may not be coerced and her post-war status shall not be affected.

##### 23. *The Powers of the Provisional Government*

- a. The Provisional Government shall act as a Supreme War and Peace Council in cooperation with its allies. It shall have full power (without interference in internal affairs) to act in the name of its member-states and in cooperation with its allies in the general conduct of the war and in all matters pertaining to the war until the termination of hostilities. No member-state may negotiate a separate peace.



- b. From the date of the establishment of the Provisional Government of The World Federation, the war expenses of all its member-states shall be borne by The World Federation. All loans and lend-lease aid after that date shall be cleared through the Provisional Government and shall be repayable and guaranteed by all the resources (in money or products) of the member-states, in proportion to their wealth and annual national income.

#### THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE WITH THE AXIS POWERS

24. The following Conditions of Peace, included in the Constitution, shall be announced by the Provisional Government and its allies as the terms of the Peace Treaty. The war shall end, without a Peace Conference, when the Axis countries agree to join The World Federation, subscribe to its Constitution, and in addition comply with the following terms:

- a. Cessation of hostilities.
- b. Elimination of the Nazi, Fascist and feudal Japanese dictatorships.
- c. Total disarmament and demobilization of all existing armed forces (except for internal police) in accordance with the Quota Principle, page 44.
- d. Evacuation and resettlement of all territories which are not part of their countries as specified in the Territorial Table.
- e. Restoration—over a period of ten years under the direct supervision of The World Federation Government—of expropriations and loot, or their equivalent. (Perishable goods and raw materials not included.)
- f. The surrender, for judgment by a special tribunal selected by the World Supreme Court, of all the officials or officers directly and immediately responsible for gross violations of existing international conventions dealing with the conduct of war (such as mass execution of hostages, tortures, etc.). The tribunal shall have the power to impose any penalty, including death, and it shall have the power to deal with such gross violations committed not only by officials of the Axis countries but also by the officials of any member-state of The World Federation. Officials shall not be held responsible if their acts were committed as an imperative measure of defensive retaliation for a gross violation committed by the enemy and the fact of which (such as the use of gas) has been officially established.

*Comment:* These terms are just, but not vindictive. They assure maximum future security to the victorious United Nations without crushing the millions of innocent among the defeated peoples. The promulgation of these terms by the United Nations would doubtless have a powerful propaganda effect in the Axis countries and greatly shorten the war, hastening the inevitable collapse of Hitler and his satellites. Those who seek retribution and ruthless punishment of the German people forget



that revenge is an expensive luxury. The difference between desperate German resistance (if they see no way out) and merely strong resistance (if they can be shown any way out), might be the difference, in terms of American lives alone, of several hundred thousand.

25. *The World Federation and the Neutrals*: No neutral state may be discriminated against because of its failure to participate in the war against the Axis powers.

*Comment*: An individual sovereign neutral state, such as Sweden, is naturally entitled to choose its own national policy. To reproach the Swedish nation for failure to attack Nazi Germany when living under the very shadow of Nazi might, is not only unjust but unrealistic. Had Sweden attacked Germany without adequate military support from the United Nations, she would have been crushed in a few weeks. As it is, Sweden has husbanded her strength and is destined to play a role which will be far out of proportion to her size. Similar considerations apply to other neutral states, such as Turkey.

## PART II: THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

26. During the Armistice or Transitional Period, the Provisional Government must proceed with the organization of:

- a. A network of Economic Agencies for the immediate relief of distressed peoples (including the former enemies);
- b. Representative Governments in the defeated countries and in those previously occupied by the Axis;
- c. The World Police and the World Armament Trust (under the Quota Force Principle);
- d. The Permanent Government of The World Federation;
- e. The Governments of the Regional Federations.

When this preliminary organization is completed (within a period of not more than two years), the Provisional Government shall cease to exist and the Permanent Government will automatically come into being.

The following paragraphs deal with the measures described in the foregoing b, c, d, and e.

27. *The Representative Governments*: The present governments-in-exile and whatever non-fascist governments may arise in the defeated Axis countries may be recognized as *de facto* governments by the Provisional Government of The World Federation. But within one year from the cessation of hostilities, the Provisional Government of The World Federation must call Constitutional Conventions in each of these countries to determine the form of the new national governments and to take steps for their establishment. The elections to the Constitutional Conventions shall be conducted in the spirit of democratic freedom and in each instance under the supervision of a special Joint Commission, composed half of representatives of The World Federation and half of representatives of the *de facto* government concerned, plus one representative of a neutral country, who shall have no vote except to dissolve a tie.



## THE QUOTA FORCE PRINCIPLE

*Comment:*

### DILEMMA NUMBER 1 OF LASTING PEACE

One fundamental problem has been common to all systems of world organization. Through their failure to solve it, all peace plans—since the first plan of Pierre DuBois in the thirteenth century, through Immanuel Kant, William Penn and the Abbé de Saint Pierre, through the League of Nations and up to the latest plans—have been futile. It is the problem of an international police force. This fundamental problem arises from an apparently unsolvable inner contradiction which may be stated in the two following premises:

*First Premise:* The world being what it is, lasting world peace is impossible without an international police force strong enough to overpower any aggressor nation or combination of aggressor nations. Such an all-powerful international police force is impossible without the permanent and effective disarmament of all nations (except for local police). The permanent and effective disarmament of all nations necessarily means that the monopoly of the manufacture and use of all heavy armaments be given to a world organization and its international police force. For it is the *heavy weapons*—armored ships of land, sea and air—which, in combination, win modern wars. If there is not total relinquishment of heavy weapons by all nations, there can be no effective Central World Force.

Thus, world disarmament in heavy weapons and lasting peace protected by a Central World Force are mutually indispensable.

But such an irresistible Central Force runs against the following immovable obstacle:

*Second Premise:* A proud and mighty nation, such as the United States, Britain, or Russia, would never consent to disarm itself effectively and thus place its own destiny in the hands of an international body. If a powerful and prosperous nation were foolish enough to do this, it would, in effect, be conquered without firing a shot; wholly disarmed, it would be at the mercy of an international organization composed largely of foreigners and, to some extent, of enemies.

No matter how many checks or balances are applied to a world government, its members are likely to reflect the selfish interests of their own nations or classes. The nature of all social organisms, from private club to world government, is such that those in control inevitably tend toward the formation of cliques, so as to perpetuate their own power and privileges. The government of a world organization, once in possession of an overwhelming armed force, would sooner or later corrupt itself, becoming the breeding place of greedy politicians and power-politic combines. Even if the government of such a world organization were made up of the purest of idealists, the dangers would be as great, because in that case the world organization might lead to the worst kind of tyranny—the tyranny of fanatic reformers who, conscious of their immense power and impelled by this or that ideology, would not hesitate to tear up any constitution or break up any nation. These reformers might compel the United States to dissipate its wealth for the benefit of the world; or they might declare Soviet Russia to be the world's Public Enemy Number One.

But the greatest danger for the leading powers, if they disarmed themselves, would lie in the Central World Force itself. The international police force, controlling the disarmed individual nations, might evolve into a



corps of Janizaries or a Praetorian guard, and its High Command could easily conquer the world and seize its riches.

It is astonishing with what glib nonchalance many experts prattle about an "international police force" without realizing its sinister implications, if it is to be a *real* force; or its hopeless futility, if it is to be a token force.

*It is on the rocks of this tragic contradiction that all peace plans have heretofore foundered. It does not matter how perfect a plan may be in other respects—if it fails to provide for both the collective security of the world and the military safety of individual nations, lasting world peace is but a dangerous delusion.*

For years, attempting to solve this inner contradiction seemed like trying to square a social circle. During the last few years, however, certain revolutionary changes have developed in communications and in military weapons—changes which have made possible either a world conquest by one nation or world peace for all. These changes narrowed the scope of possible solutions to one field only—the force of nationalism. The solution then appeared, and from an entirely new direction—that of mass psychology.

There are powerful psycho-social forces controlling the organisms called nations or states. The most powerful of these forces is nationalism, which has brought so much good but so much evil to the world. The main political instrument of nationalism is power-politics, which is based on the manipulation of military force for the defense of a nation or (in wars of aggression) for the benefit of the clique controlling the state. It was apparent that while nationalism could perhaps be canalized, it could not be abolished for a long time to come. Therefore, the solution of the problem of an international police force could not lie in forlorn attempts to eliminate nationalism; but in seeking to distill from the very poison of nationalism its own antidote.

*The antidote has now been found. The inner contradiction involved in an international police force has been finally solved.*

*The solution consists of a new system of composition and distribution of national armed forces, based on heavy weapons. It is called the Quota Force Principle.*

*The World Federation Plan is not built entirely around this Quota Force Principle. But on the Quota Force Principle rests the hope of lasting peace.*



## THE WORLD POLICE

28. The Quota Force Principle may be defined as a new method of armament, composition and distribution of the national armed forces of each state, by means of which the Government of The World Federation obtains an overwhelming Police Force of its own, based on a monopoly of heavy weapons, without jeopardizing the capacity of any individual state to resist aggression.

29. *Armament of the World Police*

- a. The World Police (army, navy and air forces) shall be the only force in the world which is armed with heavy weapons.
- b. The manufacture, transportation and possession of heavy weapons shall be the monopoly of The World Federation.\*
- c. Heavy weapons are defined as armored or armor-piercing fighting machines, such as armored planes, warships, tanks and heavy guns. Weapons of equal or greater destructive power, such as chemicals or weapons yet to be developed, are included.

30. *Composition of the World Police*

- a. The World Police shall consist of twelve separate armies: eleven National Contingents and one International Contingent.
- b. Each National Contingent shall consist of officers and men recruited from the citizens of each Initiating-State.
- c. The International Contingent, called the Mobile Corps, shall be made up of units of regiments (or their naval and air equivalents) of the same nationality, recruited from all the member-states other than Initiating-States which form part of the sovereign Regional Federations.

31. *Distribution of the World Police*

- a. The Mobile Corps shall be stationed only in strategically located islands purchased by the Government of The World Federation, and in leased bases in the Two-Way States. Within these limits, it may be moved about or concentrated at any given point.
- b. Each National Contingent shall be stationed *only in its country of origin*.

*Exceptions:* Part of the United States National Contingent may be stationed in leased bases in the Malaysian Federation and in the Atlantic and Pacific islands forming part of the American Federation. Part of the British National Contingent may be stationed in leased bases in the Indian Federation.

- c. No troops armed with heavy weapons, except the National Contingent of its Initiating-State, may be stationed at any place in a Regional Federation. No foreign troops may be moved through a Regional Federation without permission of its Initiating-State.

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\*Any nation may maintain an armed force independent of the World Police, provided this force is *not* armed with heavy weapons and is used *only* for the purpose of internal policing.



*Comment:*

THE STRATEGIC ZONES

With the National Contingents distributed in this manner, each Initiating-State obtains as its Strategic Zone the entire Regional Federation of which it is a part. In addition, the Strategic Zones of the United States and Britain are extended to include bases in Malaysia and India, respectively.

32. *The Different Functions of the National Contingents and the Mobile Corps*

The Mobile Corps constitutes the *shock troops* of the World Police.

The National Contingents constitute the *reserves* of the World Police. Their duties in time of peace differ from their duties in time of war emergency.

a. *In time of peace*

Each National Contingent, although maintained and supported by The World Federation, remains a national armed force of its country of origin, subject to the authorities of its state, who shall have the right to educate the troops in the traditions and ideology they deem best. But in technical matters, the military authorities of the state shall cooperate with the representatives of The World Federation, through a Joint Commission.

The International Mobile Corps shall be under the direct training and command and at the immediate disposal of The World Federation Government. Its members shall become citizens of The World Federation for the term of their enlistment, subject to The World Federation Bill of Rights and under the exclusive orders of The World Federation Government. The countries of origin shall have no rights in the Mobile Corps other than participation, through a Quota Commission, in its recruitment. (See page 44.)

b. *In time of war emergency*

Each National Contingent becomes automatically, and without the necessity of approval by its Initiating-State, a part of the World Police, under the command of the President of The World Federation and at the disposal of The World Federation Government.

The International Mobile Corps remains, at all times, under direct command of The World Federation Government.

In case of aggression by any state, the first part of the World Police to be moved to quell such aggression shall always be the Mobile Corps. If more strength is needed, then the National Contingents which are nearest to the center of the disturbance shall be used.

33. *The Writ of War Emergency*

The World Police may be used only upon a Writ of War Emergency. Such a Writ shall be issued by the World Supreme Court, and only for one or more of the following reasons:



- a. To defend a member-state against any armed aggression;
- b. To stop armed aggression by a member-state;
- c. To enforce the observance of the Quotas of armed forces and armaments;
- d. To quell an act of mutiny or active rebellion among the troops of the World Police.

*Exception:* In the event of a sudden aggression upon a member-state, the national authorities of the National Contingent (or the commanding officers of the Mobile Corps) in the attacked country shall have the right to resist without the Writ of War Emergency, subject to subsequent approval or disapproval by the World Supreme Court.

- e. The World Police may not be used to enforce any other violation of the Constitution, or any economic sanctions imposed by the World Supreme Court for such other violations, unless there is armed defiance.

34. *Armed Aggression Defined:* For the purposes of this Outline, armed aggression (or war) is defined as any attack with weapons of violence (light or heavy) when carried out by a sovereign state or its citizens against or upon the territory of another sovereign state or of any Region.

In all cases of armed aggression, a Writ of War Emergency shall be mandatory upon the World Supreme Court, except in the case of frontier incidents if settled to the satisfaction of the attacked state.

### 35. *Obligations of the World Police*

- a. All members of the World Police shall be required to take an oath to uphold the Constitution of The World Federation and to *defend against aggression not only their own country, but The World Federation and its member-states.*
- b. No part of the World Police shall be required at any time to participate in any military operations against its country of origin.
- c. The World Police may not interfere in the internal affairs of any state, under any circumstances. The right of revolution is thus preserved.
- d. If any National Contingent (or the Mobile Corps) fails to obey the orders of The World Federation Government when based upon a Writ of War Emergency; or if any National Contingent intervenes in the internal affairs of any state; such failure or intervention shall automatically constitute an act of rebellion against The World Federation.

### 36. *Equipment, Recruitment, and Training of the World Police*

- a. All branches of the World Police shall be equipped and maintained at the expense of the Government of The World Federation. They shall all receive the same equipment and be subject to the same general regulations.



- b. All members of the World Police shall be highly paid volunteers, with high school educations or the equivalent, and conscious of their mission as soldiers of peace.\*
- c. The pay of the National Contingents shall be in proportion to the standard of living prevalent in the country of origin. The pay of the Mobile Corps shall be uniform, rated on the standard of living of the economically more prosperous non-initiating states.
- d. The term of enlistment for National Contingent troops shall be five years, and for Mobile Corps troops seven years, not renewable. A rotational system of enlistment shall be instituted.
- e. The troops of both the National and International Contingents shall be employed, in addition to their usual duties of technical training, in works of general welfare. For instance, in the event of a disaster to a nation (such as earthquake or flood), The World Federation Government may call upon the Mobile Corps to aid in the relief of the distressed peoples. The same applies to the National Contingents, under the authorities of their respective national governments.
- f. Special schools shall be established to train the men and officers for employment in governmental and public institutions. After the termination of their enlistment, all members of the World Police shall have a preferential rating in the civil service selection of officials and employees of the various branches of the World or Regional governments. An enlistment in the World Police, therefore, becomes a public career that extends beyond the term of enlistment.
- g. Commissioners of The World Federation Government shall at all times have the right of inspection in connection with the foregoing provisions.

*Comment:*

THE NATIONAL CONTINGENTS

The most striking characteristic of the Quota Force Principle is to be found in its method of using the national armies of the Initiating-States. Each National Contingent of the World Police becomes a double-purpose army: In peacetime, it is, as heretofore, a *national* armed force, trained and commanded by its own citizens and stationed exclusively in its country of origin for the purpose of *defense* against any aggression. In the case of war emergency, the National Contingent becomes an *international* armed force, maintained and commanded by the Government of The World Federation for the purpose of *attack* against aggressors.

This type of national armed force is based on an entirely new conception. The National Contingent does not "belong" to its Initiating-State. Though recruited from the state's citizens and stationed in its territory, it

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\*In the event that there are not enough recruits available in any non-initiating state to fill its proportion of the Collective Quota in accordance with the educational standards, the Quota shall be filled from neighboring states.



is *lend-leased* by The World Federation to the Initiating-State for the purpose of guaranteeing the latter against the possible tyranny of The World Federation Government or the possible military dictatorship of the World Police. Hence, the detailed and specific provisions as to the nationality, recruitment and peacetime command of these National Contingents.

But the main purpose of the National Contingents is to create an ever-ready international police force powerful enough to prevent successful aggression by any state or combination of states. It is with this understanding that the volunteers are trained and it is to this higher purpose that they dedicate themselves.

This double use of a national army is psychologically possible only because of the great strength of nationalism inherent in modern states. For instance, it is psychologically certain that the United States soldiers, selected and trained by the American government, would never turn against their mother country to support any tyrannical action of The World Federation or to further the cause of a *foreign* dictator. On the other hand, since the United States National Contingent is also a part of the World Police, paid by The World Federation and made up of professional soldiers bound by oath and training to support the Constitution of The World Federation, this contingent would not hesitate to move against any foreign country guilty of aggression, when commanded to do so by The World Federation. Thus, the American Contingent would defend both The World Federation and the United States.

This question may be raised: What is to prevent a leading power from seizing control of its National Contingent to use it for purposes of conquest, or to prevent its constitutional use by The World Federation?

It is highly improbable that any government could thus seize control of its National Contingent. The conditions of enlistment and the Articles of the Constitution are there for the whole world to see. On the part of the officers and men of the National Contingent, refusal to obey the orders of The World Federation Government when based on a Writ of War Emergency, or any attempt at aggression against another country, automatically constitutes an act of rebellion, for which they can be shot in disgrace. As for the government of the state itself, something akin to a revolutionary conspiracy would be required for it deliberately to break the solemn pact of defensive alliance which binds all member-states together, and thus become an aggressor against The World Federation. Any attempt at conquest would create a divided public opinion within the country, and a divided National Contingent. It could not possibly succeed against the overwhelming forces of the other National Contingents and the Mobile Corps.

All National Contingents are controlled by the same powerful psychosocial forces: On orders of The World Federation Government, they will *attack* an aggressor anywhere, for they have been selected and trained and are paid for that purpose; and they will *defend* their own countries against any aggressor, because they are rooted in their nations.

Let us reverse the situation and consider whether a possible conspiracy within The World Federation Government could secure sufficient military force to unjustly attack and overwhelm an individual state, despite its National Contingent.

The World Federation Government is prevented from becoming tyrannical precisely because of the nationalistic structure of the National Contingents. An attempt to launch an unjustified attack against one nation



is a threat to other nations. It is certain to meet with resistance not only from the National Contingent of the attacked state, but from other Contingents as well.

In addition, the structure of The World Federation Government itself makes it very difficult for a nation or combination of nations to conspire against the others. The officials of The World Federation Government are not ambassadorial representatives of their states or Regions, subject to orders or recall. They owe their allegiance during a fixed term of office only to the Constitution of The World Federation; they are subject to speedy impeachment and removal from office either for abuses of power or for failure to act. The checks and balances in the Constitution are so arranged that no single branch of The World Federation Government can control it. Therefore, any conspiracy would require that a majority of the World Supreme Court join with a majority of the World Trustees and the President of The World Federation to violate the Constitution in the selfish interest of a nation or Region. Even if such a conspiracy did take place, the enormous forces of opposition generated within The World Federation Government itself and in the World Police would make its success impossible.

Thus, the inner contradiction involved in the problem of world peace has been solved. An international armed force has been created which is powerful enough to stop any aggression; and yet, by means of the National Contingents, each leading power retains the means to defend itself against *any* aggression—even against the possible tyranny of The World Federation.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL MOBILE CORPS

For the first time in history, the smaller nations of the world, which have a population of roughly 300 million, will acquire a powerful collective armed force for their own defense and also for the defense of all other member-states and of The World Federation itself. It will be seen from the Quota Table that the Collective Quota assigned to the small nations exceeds the individual Quota of any single Initiating-State. Thus, the Mobile Corps becomes more powerful than any National Contingent. Existing sovereign states, such as Brazil or Norway, and revived sovereign states, such as Korea, will receive the immediate protection of the Mobile Corps against any future aggression. The protection of any small state has now become entirely possible, due to modern communications and transportation, by means of which the decisive heavy weapons can be quickly concentrated anywhere in the world. The same Industrial Revolution that has virtually disarmed all the weaker nations can re-arm them in the service of lasting peace.

It is psychologically certain that the Mobile Corps will always be on the side of The World Federation and *against* any aggressor nation or any rebellious National Contingent. The World Federation is the only and the *last* bulwark of freedom and security for the smaller nations. These nations have no imperialistic ambitions. They seek to survive—not to conquer. So that the Mobile Corps may be bound even more strongly to The World Federation, its regiments have been taken from the control of their states of origin (except for recruiting) and placed, in war or peace, under the direct control of The World Federation. The regiments of the Mobile Corps, though composed of troops and officers of the same nationality (thus avoiding the destruction of the national spirit, as in the case of a "foreign legion") are stationed outside their countries of origin and owe their allegiance only to the Government of The World Federation.



For all these reasons, the immediate and most powerful defense of The World Federation against aggression or rebellion is placed in the hands of those nations whose very existence depends on The World Federation—the weaker nations. By means of the Quota Force mechanism, these weak nations, which *individually* could not maintain even a fraction of such force, *collectively* become the greatest military power in the world.

The Mobile Corps, even to a more decided extent than the National Contingents, will operate as a double purpose force: to defend the family of the smaller nations against aggression by powerful neighbors, and to be the first to defend an Initiating-State against aggression.

### 37. *Division of the World Police by Quotas*

To each of the eleven National Contingents and to the Mobile Corps is assigned a certain *quota* of all the troops, officers and heavy weapons which constitute the World Police. The respective quotas of the Contingents are not necessarily equal.

The quota assigned to the National Contingent of each Initiating-State is based mainly upon the correlation of three factors: (1) The present industrial power of the Initiating-State; (2) the extent of the Regional territory it must defend; and (3) the psycho-political factor (discussed on page 43).

The quota of the Mobile Corps is supplied from the non-initiating states, in proportion to their populations, except that, for reasons of balance, the maximum representation in the Mobile Corps allowed to any non-initiating state (such as Brazil) shall be on the basis of fifteen million population.

### 38. *Changes in the Quotas*

The Government of The World Federation may, from time to time, increase or decrease the *total* number of troops and/or quantities of armament of the World Police. But it shall have no power to change the Quotas assigned to the National Contingents or to the Mobile Corps. Such a change can be made only by a constitutional amendment, requiring a unanimous vote of all the World Trustees, plus ratification by seven of the eleven Regional Trustees of all Regional Federations.

*Comment:* On the following page is given a detailed Table of the Quotas to be assigned to each member-state. While the most careful consideration has been given to these Quotas, the proposed Table of Quotas may, and probably will, be modified through negotiation between the leading powers concerned, preliminary to the founding of the Provisional Government of The World Federation. But, whatever the nature of the final agreement on the Quotas to be assigned to each state, and however flexible the Constitution of The World Federation may be in other respects, it is of vital importance that the Quotas should not be subjected to future changes without a grave and compelling reason. Otherwise, the Quota Force Principle might degenerate into a football of power-politics, with each state constantly seeking to improve its own Quota at the expense of other states, for the secret purpose of aggression. Hence the stringent requirements for the constitutional amendment of the Quotas, by means of which each state concerned is fully protected against unwarranted changes by other members of The World Federation.



### 39. THE QUOTA TABLE OF THE WORLD POLICE

<i>Quota</i>	<i>Contingent of Initiating-State</i>	<i>Where Stationed</i>	<i>Regional Federation Represented</i>
20%	United States	United States; leased bases in the islands of the Western Hemisphere and in the Malaysian Federa- tion	American
15%	British (including English-speaking Dominions)	British Empire; leased bases in the Indian Fed- eration	British
15%	Russian	U. S. S. R.	Russian
4%	French	France	Latin-European
4%	German	Germany	Germanic
4%	Polish	Poland	Middle European
4%	Turkish	Turkey	Middle Eastern
4%	Chinese	China	Chinese
4%	Indian (provision- ally selected un- der British Com- mand)	India	Indian
2%	Malaysian (provi- sionally selected under American Command)	Malaysian Federation	Malaysian
2%	Japanese	Japan	Japanese
22%	<i>International Mobile Corps</i> All member-states not listed above; (non-initiating states)	Two-Way States and stra- tegic islands owned by The World Federation	All the member Regional Federations (Collective Quota)
<hr/>			
100%			

NOTE: The percentages in this Quota Table apply to the trained man-  
power, the composition of the High Command of the World Police, and the  
corresponding percentages of all the manufacturing plants, equipment, am-  
munition, ships, planes, and other heavy weapons assigned to each state.



It is the declared purpose of the United Nations' governments that the world shall be policed against new aggressors by the combined forces of the United Nations. The Quota Force Principle effectuates that purpose. Nearly ninety percent of the total World Police force is assigned to the United Nations. The quota of Germany and Japan together is only six percent, while neutral Turkey's quota is four percent.

The enormous differences between the Quota Force method of policing the world and the vague, unrealistic "policing" of the world now proposed by the statesmen of the United Nations are these:

1. The Quota Force method does not depend in any way upon the national power-politics of the governments of individual nations, and cannot be upset by changes within these governments.

2. The Quota Force method embodies the principle of policing the world, but not only by the victorious nations; all the nations of the world share this privilege and responsibility.

3. The Quota Force method makes it impossible for the militarists of Germany, Japan and other defeated nations to combine in the future for wars of revenge, or to combine with any other aggressor.

*The calculations underlying the Quota Table are based on two principles: First, the mathematics of mass psychology, which governs the force of nationalism; and second, a mathematically balanced system of military forces, based on the sheer weight of heavy weapons. All other factors, such as selection and training of manpower, have been made equal.*

40. *The World Armament Trust:* The manufacture or transportation or possession of heavy weapons by any private interest or any member-state shall be prohibited. The Government of The World Federation shall have an absolute non-profit monopoly of the manufacture, possession and transportation of heavy weapons, as follows:

- a. The World Armament Trust shall have eleven manufacturing divisions, one for each Initiating-State and located therein.
- b. In each manufacturing division, the production of the weapons, as well as the reserve matériel, shall be in exact proportion to the National Contingent Quota assigned to that Initiating-State.
- c. There shall also be, in non-initiating states, a number of smaller divisions of the Armament Trust for the manufacture of heavy weapons needed for the Mobile Corps.
- d. All the plants will be purchased by The World Federation Government on behalf of the World Armament Trust and thereafter operated for its account.
- e. The Government of The World Federation shall have the right to maintain within the territories of all member-states a staff of inspectors to report possible violations of the Quota Force Principle in connection with the armed forces or the prohibition of heavy weapons. Citizens or officials guilty of violations will be subject to extremely heavy penalties; and if the government of a member-state itself is found guilty of such violation, the state will be liable to severe economic penalties.



**Comment: THE QUOTA FORCE PRINCIPLE AND DICTATORSHIPS**

The World Armament Trust, rigidly controlled by World Federation inspectors backed up by the World Police, will make it entirely possible to prevent the secret production of heavy weapons by would-be aggressors and dictators—especially considering the time necessary to convert vast industrial plants to war production. Besides, there will be an army of 500 million voluntary “spies,” enthusiastically serving the world government. They are the mothers of the world.

This is the first war in history in which the actual struggle is for the monopoly of heavy weapons, and thereby the dominion of the world. Wars of aggression between nations can be stopped only when the monopoly of all decisive war weapons, now held by a few individual nations, passes into the hands of a world cooperative of all nations; and when vigilant soldiers of peace, comprising the National Contingents and the Mobile Corps, take over the duty of guarding the peace of the world.

The *collective monopoly of heavy weapons* will not only help to stop war; it will also help to save Democracy. This same key, which locks the door against the war lords who seek to enslave other nations, also locks the door against the modern tyrants who seek to dominate their own peoples. The prohibition of war deprives them of the essential feeding lines which run from the loot and enslavement of conquered countries; the prohibition of the use of heavy weapons deprives them of the means with which to enslave their peoples and perpetuate their ruthless tyranny.

Today Democracy everywhere is grimly threatened by violent minorities in possession of irresistible heavy weapons used for the subjugation of the masses. Once the decisive heavy weapons are segregated and the tyrants are permanently deprived of their use, their most poisonous fangs will have been drawn.

It is true that The World Federation preserves the sovereignty of nations (including the right of each to choose its form of government), so that a dictatorship may arise in this or that country, even after the Nazi and other militarist dictatorships are eliminated. No leading nation, be it the United States, Britain, Russia or any other, would allow a loophole through which the world government, in the name of Democracy, would have an enforceable right to interfere with the internal affairs of a sovereign state. However, even if in the post-war world of The World Federation dictatorships do arise, they will not be totalitarian, but local; there will be no virulent world epidemic, feeding upon conquests realized through heavy weapons, but merely “incidents” in this or that state. Besides—and this is also an important point—world public opinion will acquire an unheard-of power, once the forces of peace and free cooperation of nations are crystalized around the world government with its World Vocational Senate and eleven Regional Senates. It will be very difficult for a dictator to withstand both the pressure of the people within his nation and the pressure of world public opinion—a pressure he cannot brazenly defy when he no longer possesses the might of fighting machines.

The ideals of world citizenship and freedom for all the peoples are possible and practicable. Once freedom from war becomes a reality through the instrumentality of The World Federation, everything else is possible; but if power-politics prevail, no social evolution toward these ideals can be complete or lasting. Those whose greatest wish is to serve the cause of Democracy will do it the greatest harm if they try to enforce the last five percent of their demands—thereby risking all. Freedom from war is the all-important solution.



## ILLUSTRATIVE TABLE OF THE QUOTA FORCE PRINCIPLE

As stated before, the *total* size of the World Police Force shall be determined by the Government of The World Federation, and it may be increased or decreased as the necessity arises.

However, for purposes of illustration, let us assume that the total post-war strength of the World Police shall consist of 2,000,000 men, 50,000 warplanes, 100,000 tanks and guns, and 100 battleships or aircraft carriers, with all the other weapons in proportion. This is, indeed, a powerful armored force, considerably greater than would probably be necessary to maintain world security and peace in a world armed only with light weapons. And yet, even this formidable force represents less than one-thirtieth of the trained manpower now under arms and about one-tenth of the armored machines (except battleships) that will probably be produced in the world before this war is ended.

On the basis of the Quota Table, the Mobile Corps, the National Contingents and their armament will be distributed as follows:

<i>Initiating- State</i>	<i>Quota</i>	<i>National Troops</i>	<i>Planes</i>	<i>Tanks</i>	<i>Capital Ships*</i>
United States ...	20%	400,000	10,000	20,000	20
Britain .....	15%	300,000	7,500	15,000	15
Russia .....	15%	300,000	7,500	15,000	15
Germany .....	4%	80,000	2,000	4,000	4
France .....	4%	80,000	2,000	4,000	4
Poland .....	4%	80,000	2,000	4,000	4
Turkey .....	4%	80,000	2,000	4,000	4
China .....	4%	80,000	2,000	4,000	4
India .....	4%	80,000	2,000	4,000	4
Malaysia .....	2%	40,000	1,000	2,000	2
Japan .....	2%	40,000	1,000	2,000	2
Mobile Corps ..	22%	440,000	11,000	22,000	22
Total .....	100%	2,000,000	50,000	100,000	100

\*Capital ships now consist of battleships and aircraft carriers, but this may change later to denote any other vessel used as a capital ship.

### *Comment:* ELIMINATION OF WARS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL NATIONS

*On the basis of the Quota Force Principle, it is impossible to cite any situation in which one state could successfully attack another.* Unless the Mobile Corps and all the National Contingents refuse to act (which psychologically is out of the question), an aggressor nation would be heavily outnumbered.

This, of course, will have a most beneficial effect upon the individual nations. France, for instance, will no longer have to fear an attack from Germany. Not only will she have the same amount of Armored Forces as Germany (4%), but the formidable Mobile Corps, five and a half times stronger than the German Contingent, will be her perpetual ally against aggression. Thus it will not matter to France that Germany's population and industrial power are so crushingly superior, for she will no longer be alone. She can grow in her marvelously rich and well-balanced economy without facing periodic threats of destruction.



The same applies to China, whose National Contingent (4%) will be twice as strong as that of Japan. China will not even have to fear an attack by Russia (15%), since she will have for her immediate defense an Armored Force of 26%, composed of the Chinese National Contingent of 4% plus the Mobile Corps of 22%—not to count the other National Contingents. The tragedy of Poland, wedged between powerful hereditary enemies to the west and east, also will disappear. The innumerable wars between the nations of the Balkans will be eliminated. Fratricidal wars, such as those between Bolivia and Peru, will never be revived.

The Latin-American Republics will no longer need to fear the North American Colossus. Today, all the Latin-American Republics are virtually disarmed and would be helpless before a few American armored divisions and a few hundred planes. In a post-war world *without* The World Federation and the Quota Force Principle, they would remain at the mercy of some imperialist philosophy that might come into power in the United States. *With* the Quota Force Principle, the military conquest of any part of Latin America by the United States is impossible. Furthermore, a large part of the Mobile Corps will be made up of Latin Americans. Thus, the ideal of Simon Bolivar—elimination of wars between the Latin-American sister nations and common defense against outside aggression—will be realized, though in a manner he scarcely could have imagined.

#### ELIMINATION OF WARS BETWEEN COALITIONS

The Quota Mechanism not only eliminates military dictatorships and wars between individual nations; it eliminates wars between alliances or coalitions of nations. *On the basis of the Quota Force Principle, it is impossible to cite any politically conceivable combination of nations which could conduct a war of aggression against the remaining nations of The World Federation without being decisively outnumbered.*

Let us assume the most powerful (though the least likely) combination of nations some years after The World Federation is founded: The United States, Great Britain and Germany decide to rebel against The World Federation and to conquer the world. *Without* the Quota Force Principle, there is no question but that this coalition of powers could easily dominate the world. *With* the Quota Force Principle, the joint Quota of these three nations would be only 39%. Against them there would be lined up Armored Forces of planes, tanks and warships totaling 61%, of which 22%, the Mobile Corps, would be the Shock Troops. Before England and Germany (19%) would have time to develop their industrial potential into a military potential, they would be overwhelmed, and the United States, with its 20%, would be isolated.

Let us reverse the situation and assume a communist-dominated Europe and Asia, in revolt against The World Federation and the Anglo-Americans. *Without* The World Federation, a communist Japan, China, Poland, Russia, Germany and France, lined up against the Anglo-Americans, would automatically result in a third world war. If the democracies were divided within or between themselves, they would probably lose such a war; and even if they were united, the issue would be in doubt. *With* The World Federation, the Quotas of the rebel communist nations would total only 33%, against the 67% total of the Mobile Corps, the Anglo-Americans, and the other Contingents of the World Police.

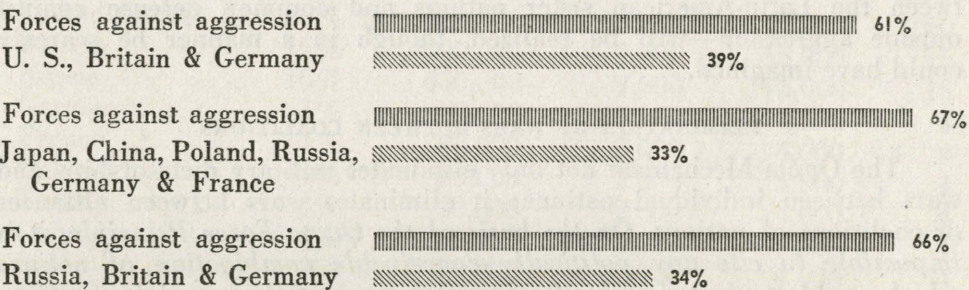
The decisive importance of the Mobile Corps as a balance wheel in the various combinations of National Contingents is apparent. The



Quotas of the United States, Britain and Russia, and the Quota of the Mobile Corps, are so balanced that a war of aggression by two of these countries could not succeed against the third and the Mobile Corps. It is practically impossible to form any combination of aggressor nations which could prevail against the Mobile Corps and only a few other Initiating-States.

As part of The World Federation, neither the United States, Britain or Russia would ever fight alone if attacked; and because of their large Quotas, each could form a nucleus of resistance against the aggressors, which would probably prove decisive. *Without* the Quota Force Principle, none of these powers could ever be assured of support from other nations; nor could any of them successfully resist the many aggressor combinations that could be and certainly would be organized against these immensely wealthy nations. *With* The World Federation, its Constitution becomes a perpetual Treaty of Alliance, binding together these three great powers, and binding each of them to the collective power of all the smaller nations.

### *Illustrations of Hypothetical Coalitions*



### “DISARMING” THE AXIS

Some may advance this objection to the Quota Table: the Axis powers, far from being totally disarmed, are allowed (in the case of Germany and Japan) to have their own National Contingents. At first glance, this seems to contradict the specific promise of the Atlantic Charter to disarm the Axis powers. Actually, the Quota Force Principle not only disarms the Axis powers far more effectively than if they were stripped of every soldier and gun, but makes it possible to keep them disarmed for generations.

Let us take the case of Germany, which for nearly a century has been the chief culprit in European wars of aggression. *Without* the Quota Force Principle, the adequate disarmament of Germany (or of any other power) could be maintained only by means of foreign troops of occupation, permanently stationed in the strategic centers of Germany itself. But the permanent occupation of a virile and powerful country like Germany could never be realized in practice. There would be the relentless pressure of the Germans themselves, internally united by hatred of a foreign master. There would also be, in due time, growing political pressure within the United Nations, demanding the recall of the costly troops of occupation. Furthermore, there would be inevitable rivalries and fears among the former allies, and behind-the-scenes “arrangements” with Germany. One by one, or all together, the armies of occupation would withdraw and leave a void in Germany—a void which would be quickly filled by vengeful Germans, especially those of the militarist class.



*With the Quota Force Principle, Germany will not only be disarmed, but it will be kept disarmed by a new kind of permanent army of occupation.* This army will not be composed of foreigners, but of Germans themselves; and it will be maintained, not against the opposition of the entire German people, but with the enthusiastic consent of most of them. The German National Contingent (4%) will fulfill the duty of defending its fatherland against aggression from without, and also the function of serving as a watchdog to prevent the formation of another, rival army within. That portion of the German Quota which is composed of the peace-loving, idealistic type of German who, in the past, has contributed so much to civilization, will be the staunchest ally of The World Federation and the most relentless foe of the militarists within the country. Those volunteers who are not so idealistic will, in their own selfish interests, seek to prevent the establishment of a rival army. In any case, this 4% of highly paid Germans in the World Police, while strong enough and wise enough to crush any future militarist attempts within their own country, will never be strong enough to threaten their neighbors with wars of aggression. Finally, a legion of inspectors, responsible only to The World Federation Government, will see to it that in Germany, as elsewhere, the provisions of the Quota Force Principle are relentlessly enforced.

The Quota Force Mechanism provides not only the means for an effective disarmament of Germany and Japan, but, what is more important, the *only* means of keeping them permanently disarmed.

#### WHY THE QUOTAS ARE EQUITABLE

There may be some who will find apparent injustices in the Quota Table.

In the case of China, for example, it would seem that this heroic nation of five hundred million people should be entitled to more than 4% of the world's armed forces. Actually, the very size of her population is the main reason for China's relatively low Quota. China not only has a very small industrial capacity and a territory which is fairly easy to defend, but she possesses an enormous, homogeneous population. She will have trained forces for internal policing at least four times the size of that of the United States. Such a police force, even without heavy weapons, will be, *in effect*, a supporting infantry.

The ideal distribution of the World Police might seem to be the assignment of an equal Quota to each of the eleven Regional Federations. But this would be totally unrealistic. In computing the Quotas one must keep in mind not only the factors of territory and industrial capacity, but the psycho-political factors as well. If each Region had an equal Quota of the world's Armed Forces, the poorer Regions (which are in great majority) might seek to combine for an attack against the few prosperous Regions. In the face of such a dangerous prospect, no statesman of the United States, Britain or Russia could seriously advocate the adoption of The World Federation or any similar Plan.

After the surrender of the Axis powers, Russia, Britain and the United States will have virtual military control of the world and a monopoly of the production of heavy weapons. If the peoples and the governments of these three powers are to be asked *voluntarily* to surrender their monopoly of heavy weapons for the benefit of all nations, they must be offered in exchange at least a minimum guarantee of mili-



tary security, other than the good will of the rest of the nations. On the other hand, if we are to have lasting peace, the other nations of the world must be offered equally effective military guarantees against future aggression by these three powers, individually or in combination.

For these reasons, the Quotas assigned to the United States, Britain and Russia (50% in all) have been calculated so as to strike a satisfactory balance of power between the individual strength of their National Contingents—more than adequate for defense, inadequate for attack—and the collective strength of the rest of the world.

On the basis of their existing industrial potentials and vast territories to defend, the combined military strength of the United States and Britain should be nearer 75% of the world's armed forces than 35%. But that would mean Anglo-American military control, which the rest of the world would not long tolerate. The Quotas of the United States and Britain, therefore, were made low enough to guarantee the rest of the world against possible Anglo-American tyranny and yet high enough to assure the Anglo-Americans, jointly or even separately, an adequate defense against possible aggression by any conceivable combination of the other powers of the world.

The high Quota of 15% for Russia is more than adequate to defend her against combines of aggressor nations. It represents considerably more than Russia would be likely to possess on her own in the post-war world.

In the deeper sense of future reality, it is perhaps best for the peace of the world that the United States, Britain and Russia should be the ones with a preponderance of Quota strength. These three powers have not only an idealistic but a selfish interest in preserving peace. Each has a lebensraum of continental dimensions. The economy of each is expanding inwardly, not outwardly. Each is threatened by powerful rivals—rump super-states like Germany, which lacks lebensraum, or embryonic super-states like China, which lacks technology.

Thus, the Quota Force Principle is supported on its two opposite poles: by the most powerful nations, because they have everything; and by the smallest nations, because they wish to preserve what they have.

#### PROCEDURE FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF WORLD POLICE

41. The organization of the World Police shall take place during the Transitional Period, while the national armies are being demobilized.

- a. Immediately upon cessation of hostilities, the Provisional Government of The World Federation shall appoint one Quota Commission for each Initiating-State and one for the Mobile Corps.
- b. The Quota Commissions for the Initiating-States shall be composed half of appointees of the Provisional Government and half of appointees of the government of the Initiating-State concerned. The Quota Commission of the Mobile Corps shall be composed of one representative from each member non-initiating state and an equal number appointed by the Provisional Government.
- c. In every country the respective Quota Commissions, in cooperation with the officials of the state, shall proceed to demobilize



and disarm all the existing forces armed with heavy weapons. Heavy weapons shall be deposited in special arsenals and ports.

Meanwhile, the Quota Commissions shall proceed to recruit, examine and arm with heavy weapons the volunteers for the World Police, in exact proportion to the Quota of troops and armaments assigned to each state.

*Comment:*

By the procedure described in this paragraph, it is possible to achieve two revolutionary changes within one year from the termination of hostilities: (1) the disarmament of all the individual nations; and (2) the establishment of the National Contingents and the Mobile Corps of the World Police. This can be done without encroaching upon the freedom or essential sovereignty of any nation. As a result, the economic reconstruction of the world can proceed, not in an atmosphere of power-politics among the victors and hatreds among the defeated peoples under American, British or Russian troops of occupation, but within the political and military framework of freedom and order, satisfactory to the victors and the vanquished alike.

THE QUOTA FORCE PRINCIPLE AND NON-MEMBER STATES

42. The Quota of troops and heavy weapons assigned to each state shall be applied regardless of whether or not the state is a member of The World Federation. The procedure shall be as follows:

- a. In the case of non-initiating states which remain outside The World Federation, they shall be forbidden to possess, manufacture or transport heavy weapons. In exchange, The World Federation shall guarantee them against any foreign aggression.
- b. In the case of any Initiating-State which is not a member of The World Federation, a special Quota Limitation Treaty shall be negotiated. By the terms of this Treaty, the Initiating-State may maintain at its own expense its own, independent armed forces and may manufacture heavy weapons, provided it does not exceed the Quota assigned to it, and provided it permits full inspection by representatives of The World Federation.
- c. In the event that a non-member Initiating-State refuses to sign such a Treaty, The World Federation Government need not use coercion. The Quotas can be maintained by a proportionate increase in the total armed strength of The World Federation's member-states.

*Comment:*

The Quota Force Principle operates like a defensive alliance among the member-states, except that the military rights and duties of each member are determined in advance and except that, through the machinery of The World Federation, the alliance is made irrevocable. But the application of the Quota Force Principle must be made world-wide if lasting peace is to be assured.



The only real difficulty in applying the Quota Force Principle to non-member states arises if an allied Initiating-State, such as Russia, refuses either to join The World Federation or to enter into a Quota Limitation Treaty. It is possible that Russia, mindful of her bitter pre-war experiences with the capitalistic countries and suspicious of their future intentions, might adopt a policy of total isolation until convinced that The World Federation is designed for her benefit as well as for that of other nations. Since it is unthinkable that the United Nations should take a hostile attitude toward a former ally whose heroism has contributed so much to their cause, another solution is provided in subparagraph 42-c. There could be no objection on Russia's part if The World Federation should increase its own total armed strength, parallel to Russian increases, so as to maintain the Quota Force Principle. Since the structure of The World Federation makes it impossible for any member-state to engage in wars of aggression, Russia will soon become convinced that her military security is best maintained by the Quota Force Principle, and she will abandon any attempt to upset it.

Furthermore, because of the Quota Force Principle, there is another decisive advantage to membership in The World Federation which will eventually cause Russia and every other country to join. This is the cost of military security. By means of their National Contingents, the United States, Britain and Russia acquire larger armed forces of their own than they would probably have after the war if they maintained separate armies; strong forces are given to the other Initiating-States; and a powerful collective army is created for the smaller states of the world. And yet, the total armed strength will be but a fraction of the fifteen or more million men previously held under arms even in peacetime, and the cost to the individual nations will be enormously reduced.

By pooling their resources and overhead, each of the seventy-odd nations will have for its defense a far more powerful armed force than heretofore, at a fraction of the previous cost—thus saving billions of dollars yearly. If we add to this the back-breaking load of war expenditures, the saving may well mean a new civilization, with an undreamed-of standard of living for all.

*This completes the presentation of the Quota Force Principle. In essence, the Quota Mechanism regulates the transfer of the monopoly of heavy weapons and armed forces from the individual nations into the hands of a Cooperative of all nations. Only in this manner can the world achieve lasting peace. A tremendous load will be lifted from the shoulders of Humanity. And the social cancer of war—that incurable disease which since time immemorial has plagued the world—will be finally checked by the organized forces of Peace.*



43. The Permanent Government shall have three branches:

- a. The *executive branch* shall be headed by the World President, with his Cabinet.

The World President shall have a six-year term, not renewable, and shall be chosen, except in one case, from each Initiating-State in turn. The first World President shall be selected by the United States Senate with the approval of the Presidents of a majority of the other states of the American Regional Federation. Thereafter, the World President shall be elected either by a majority vote of all the voting inhabitants of the Regional Federation, or by a majority vote of the Regional Senate with the approval of the Regional President.

The second World President shall come from the British Regional Federation; the third, exceptionally, shall be elected by all the member-states which are not Initiating-States. Thereafter, the Latin-European and the other Regional Federations shall choose the World President in turn, moving eastward.

- b. The *legislative branch* shall be composed of two houses: The World Trustees and the World Senate, with six-year terms, not renewable.

There shall be eleven World Trustees, one from each Initiating-State, selected with the approval of its legislative body.

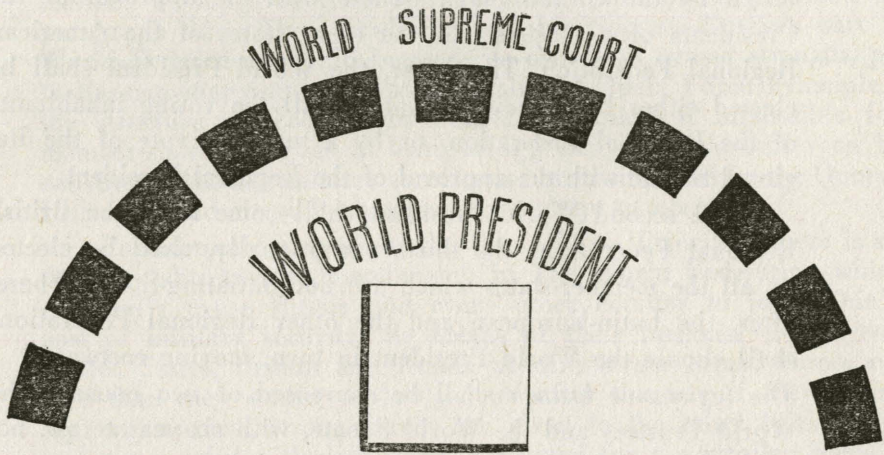
The World Senate shall be a vocational senate, composed of sixty-six members, six from each Regional Federation, representing in equal proportion, capital (or executive management), labor, agriculture, science, education (secular and religious), and arts (including crafts). The President of each Regional Federation shall select one World Senator from each of the foregoing six classes, with the approval of the Regional Senate. A rotational system shall be instituted so that the terms of one-third of the Senators shall expire every two years.

- c. The *judicial branch* shall be composed of one World Justice from each member Regional Federation, selected for a life term (with retirement provision) by the Regional President with the approval of the Regional Senate. These eleven Justices shall compose the World Supreme Court, which shall be the final interpreter of the Constitution of The World Federation.

There shall also be a separate World Equity Court composed of fifteen members, one from each Initiating-State, and four elected by all the member non-initiating states. It shall deal, either directly or through appointed arbitrators, with all treaties and with all economic, political or territorial disputes arising between states or Regions or involving The World Federation Government.



GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE  
OF  
THE WORLD FEDERATION



WORLD TRUSTEES

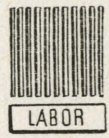
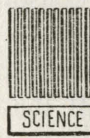
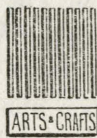
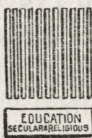


WORLD COURT OF EQUITY



66 WORLD SENATORS

one from each Regional Federation  
representing the following groups





44. The capital of The World Federation shall be located on extra-territorial grounds in the Initiating-State from which the current World President is chosen. When it moves, the previous capital shall become an endowed world university. The slight disadvantage of moving the capital every six years is more than compensated for by bringing The World Federation into the heart of every Region, and by periodically creating world centers of culture.

45. All decisions (except amendments to the Constitution) of the World Supreme Court, World Trustees and Regional Trustees shall be made on the basis of seven out of eleven votes. This gives added protection to minorities.

All decisions of the World Equity Court, World Senate and Regional Senate shall be made on the basis of a majority vote. The composition of these bodies being different, the minorities are adequately protected.

46. All officials and employees of The World Federation shall become citizens of The World Federation for the duration of their office. They shall not be responsible to the governments of their countries of origin, and may not be prosecuted by any state for their acts during their term of office. However, they are impeachable and subject to heavy penalties by The World Federation for abuse of office or for failure to act promptly and with due diligence in carrying out their duties as prescribed in the Constitution.

47. After the first term of office, each Initiating-State or Regional Federation may adopt any alternative method for selecting its World Trustees, World Senators, or World Justices, provided such method is based on popular election. The same provision shall apply to all Regional Governments.

## THE POWERS OF THE WORLD FEDERATION GOVERNMENT

### *Comment:*

### DILEMMA NUMBER 2 OF LASTING PEACE

The world consists of seventy-odd sovereign nations; each nation is fiercely nationalistic and resents any interference from any outside government. Most of the nations have different psycho-social patterns and different economies. They differ widely in military strength. At the present stage of historical development, there is no world force to hold all these nations together, either on the basis of a common economy or on the basis of a common ideology. World citizenship and the world economic millennium are both generations away. Nationalism and power-politics are realities of today, and will certainly remain realities during the next few decisive years. Therefore, if we are to achieve world peace and world citizenship—if we are even to make a start in the economic reconstruction of the world—we must work with the tools available *now*, and we must create a strong world government which will at the same time be acceptable to all nations—capitalist, socialist, or communist; victorious or defeated.



Hence, it is vitally important to harmonize the power of the world government with the rights of the sovereign nations. To put it paradoxically, there is only one type of world government that has any chance of being adopted, and when adopted, of being lasting: the type which, though powerful, *does not govern*, in the usual sense of the word.

In all psycho-political conflicts in which the whole must be integrated while the parts remain free, the only solution is to superimpose a *higher* social organism with *strictly limited* functions. Under existing conditions, it would be practically impossible to induce the leading victorious powers to delegate all their essential rights to a world government for the sake of abstract justice and good. However, there is one essential right which even the United States, Britain and Russia should be willing to give up after this war, if they can be reasonably certain that in so doing they will not jeopardize their security. This is *the right to wage war*. Accordingly, the powers of the Government of The World Federation are sharply limited to one and only one object, in which all nations, powerful or weak, will find great mutual advantage: the Prohibition of War.

The only constitutional power of the Government of The World Federation which is enforceable by military means is the power to defend its member-states against armed aggression and to enforce the Quota Force Principle. All its other powers are either necessary corollaries of this basic power (such as the enforcement of treaties), or else they are based on the voluntary consent of each sovereign nation concerned. Thus, the Government of The World Federation is in reality not a government at all, but a Peace Trust to which each nation entrusts a part of its sovereignty (the right to wage war), receiving in exchange a greater value (the right to be defended against aggression). To enforce the Prohibition of War, the Government of The World Federation has at its disposal the most powerful army in history—the World Police.

48. The powers of the Government of The World Federation over member-states and Regions are of three kinds:

Powers enforceable by military means;

Powers enforceable by economic sanctions (blockades, extra tariffs, etc.);

Powers based upon the consent of one or more member-states.

a. *Those powers which are enforceable by military means are:*

- (1) Enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution which forbid any member-state or Region to engage in any armed aggression, maintain its own forces armed with heavy weapons, or manufacture or transport heavy weapons.
- (2) Administration of the World Police and the World Armament Trust, under the Quota Force Principle.

b. *Those powers which are enforceable by economic sanctions are:*

- (1) The collection of dues from member-states for the maintenance of the government, police and institutions of The World Federation. Assessment of dues shall be based upon each state's proportion of national wealth or annual income; or, if it appears both desirable and feasible, upon rental values of land or any other proportionate method of valu-



ation. No tax or levy which encroaches upon the sovereignty of a member-state may be imposed by The World Federation. If the dues are not paid within three months of the stipulated date, the Government of The World Federation may levy upon the imports and exports of the delinquent state to the extent of its delinquency

- (2) *Under the World Equity Court*: Negotiation of Priority Treaties; periodic reviewing (every 25 years, or upon complaint) of treaties so as to rectify obvious injustices when due to changed conditions; enforcement of all treaties or agreements between member-states, Regional Federations and The World Federation.

Arbitration of all other economic or territorial disputes between member-states or Regions.

Lower Equity Courts, under supervision of the World Equity Court, shall settle all disputes arising between citizens or corporations of different Regions, or between them and the governments of member-states.

- (3) Supervision of the rights of Pooled Colonies to self-rule and fair treatment.
- (4) Administration of international communications, including the allocation of radio wave lengths. Administration of the internationalized zones (see page 19).
- (5) The conduct of plebiscites in sovereign states to determine the will of the people in regard to joining another Regional Federation (see page 19). The conduct of plebiscites in autonomous Federations and Pooled Colonies to establish sovereignty (see page 20).

The enforcement of the foregoing powers, in case of resistance, shall require a Writ of Economic Sanctions by the World Supreme Court. When economic sanctions so imposed are resisted by arms, such resistance shall automatically constitute an act of armed aggression, subject to a Writ of War Emergency.

- c. *Those powers which are based upon the consent of one or more member-states.* When such consent has been obtained, it shall acquire the status of a treaty or agreement between The World Federation Government and the particular member-state.

These powers shall be under the legislative control or supervision of the World Vocational Senate and the executive power of the World President. A sum equal to at least one-fourth of the total annual budget of The World Federation shall be spent on the various international organizations hereinafter described. The World Senate shall have the exclusive right to make appropriations, up to the sum available.



- (1) The establishment (by legislation) of a World Bank, a World Commodity Corporation and other Corporations to deal with exchange, trade, etc. The dues from member-states to The World Federation which are paid in money shall be cleared through the World Bank and its exchange; the dues which are paid in goods or raw materials shall be cleared through the World Commodity Corporation. It shall be the fundamental purpose of The World Federation's economic agencies to raise the general living standard of the nations of the world, and to eliminate excessive trade barriers.
- (2) The power to provide the necessary legislation and money for the administration of various international universities and scientific research institutions; labor, consumer and co-operative organizations; international institutions to deal with problems of health, populations, immigration, conservation of natural resources, fisheries and wild life; international standards of weights and measures, calendar and currency; as well as other international organizations for the relief of distressed or undeveloped peoples and for the general welfare of mankind.
- (3) The maintenance of special institutions and teachers (from secular schools and religious institutions of all denominations) whose duties shall be to conduct, simultaneously and in every country, a program of education for world citizenship. Special emphasis shall be placed on inculcating the youth of the world with a consciousness of their duty to preserve peace among the nations.
- (4) The appointment of a special commission to work for official recognition and establishment of a neutral international language, to be taught in the schools of the world as a secondary language, and eventually to become the official language of The World Federation.
- (5) The appointment of a special commission to draw up a minimum World Federation Bill of Rights, which will become embodied in the Constitution of The World Federation and under which all citizens of The World Federation shall be governed. (This applies to members of the Mobile Corps, officials and employees of The World Federation Government, inhabitants of internationalized zones and the districts directly governed by The World Federation.) The national governments of all the member-states shall be asked—but they shall not be coerced—to subscribe to this Bill of Rights.



The World Federation will probably require an annual budget of about four billion dollars—an enormous sum, but only a fraction of the amount now spent on wars and preparations for wars. Moreover, one quarter of this four billion dollar budget will be expended yearly by the Vocational Senate for the general welfare of mankind.

The powers of the World Vocational Senate provide machinery for the long-term economic reconstruction of the world. While Freedom from War is being safeguarded by the World Police, the agencies of the World Vocational Senate can proceed to promote peaceful cooperation in economic activity among the nations of the world. Thus, higher standards of living may be attained by all, and Freedom from Want can be gradually extended to all peoples. The economic tensions and strains between and within nations can be reduced, thereby removing one cause of aggression.

Another function of the World Vocational Senate, a function of the utmost importance, is a world-wide program of peace education. This program can be successful only if carried out simultaneously in all countries. *Without* The World Federation, one nation (such as France) may teach pacifism while another (such as Germany) exalts military virtues, the result being the psychological disarmament of the former country, and its consequent defeat and possible enslavement by the militarized nation. The ultimate hope of permanent peace lies in persistent, world-wide education of youth, and higher standards of living for all.

49. The Government of The World Federation may possess its own territories and govern them as though it were a sovereign state. But the extent of these territories shall be strictly limited to the needs of the Federation's institutions (as in the case of the District of Columbia), and the inhabitants of these territories shall be governed on the basis of The World Federation Bill of Rights (see page 52).

50. *Amendments:* The Constitution of The World Federation may be amended by an affirmative vote of not less than seven World Trustees and thirty-four World Senators, subject to ratification by not less than seven Regional Federations, on the basis of an affirmative vote of not less than seven Regional Trustees and thirty-one Regional Senators in each region.

*Exceptions:*

- a. Those Articles dealing with the Quota Force Principle (see page 30).
- b. Articles dealing with the sovereign rights of a member-state—its form of government, internal affairs and taxation—and with the number and composition of the Regions, require the same procedure for amendment as in the case of the Quota Force Principle.

51. *Impeachments:* All provisions of the Constitution shall be mandatory upon all the members of the Government of The World Federation. Failure to act with due diligence in all essential matters, and abuses of power, shall be impeachable offenses. The World Supreme Court, concurrently with any four Chief Justices of the Regional Supreme Courts, shall act immediately upon complaint as a Council of Impeachment for



the highest officials. A member of the World Supreme Court, in turn, may be impeached and penalized by a Special Court composed of eleven Chief Justices of the eleven Regional Federations.

Any high official of The World Federation Government may be impeached: a) upon complaint of four Regional Presidents, supported by a vote of seven Regional Trustees of each of the four Regional Federations; b) upon the complaint of the World President, seven World Trustees and thirty-four World Senators; or c) upon the complaint of four Regional Chief Justices. Impeached officials shall be suspended from office for a period of trial.

*Comment:* In the League of Nations, the sins of omission were far more disastrous than the sins of commission. Hence the automatic, mandatory nature of the Constitution of The World Federation. Hence also the extension of the usual conception of impeachment and a new machinery for its operation, so as to protect the Constitution and the minorities of the Regional Federations against abuses or inaction by the majorities.

#### THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE REGIONAL FEDERATIONS

52. Each Regional Federation shall have its own constitution, within the framework of the general Constitution of The World Federation. Different Regional Constitutions are necessary because of the great differences in the psycho-social patterns of the Regional Federations and in their levels of economic and political development.

- a. In the case of Regions containing only one sovereign state—Russia and China—their existing constitutions shall be recognized. In the case of the British Commonwealth of Nations, its existing structure and relationships shall also be recognized.
- b. In the case of Regions containing two or more sovereign states, there shall be a minimum Basic Constitution, patterned after The World Federation Constitution, the object of which is to hold the Region together and yet preserve the traditional sovereign rights of the member-states. The Basic Constitution provides for:

An *executive*, consisting of a Regional President elected by the Regional Trustees for a six-year term, not renewable. The presidency and the capital alternate or rotate (depending on the size of the Initiating-State) every six years among the principal member-states of the Regional Federation.

A *legislature*, consisting of eleven Regional Trustees, elected in proportion to the population of the member-states; and a Regional Senate (Vocational) of sixty members representing (ten each) capital (or executive management), labor, agriculture, science, education, and arts. Each member-state shall be represented by a number of Regional Senators proportionate to its population. Each Regional Senator shall be recommended by a recognized national association of the member-state he represents, and appointed by the chief executive of that member-state with the approval of its legislature.



A *judiciary*, of eleven justices, selected for life (with a retirement provision), forming the Regional Supreme Court. Also provided for is a Regional Equity Court. These courts constitute the lower courts of The World Federation and deal with intra-Regional matters not reserved for the World Courts.

53. *The Powers of the Regional Government under the Basic Constitution.*

- a. Administration and development of Pooled Colonies, if any.
- b. Legislation and administration of preferential economic advantages between member-states of the same Regional Federation (similar to the inter-relations existing within the British Empire). This includes the *right of first refusal*, which is the right to supersede, on the same terms, any state or citizen outside the Region in any negotiated treaty or concession.
- c. The right to levy limited tariffs on intra-Regional trade between member-states for the maintenance of the Regional Government and its institutions.
- d. The right to negotiate treaties with individual member-states regulating immigration from other Regional Federations; intra-Regional trade and labor; and inter-Regional imports and exports, with a view to eventual free trade. The consent of each member-state shall be required in each case.

No member-state shall be prevented from making its own economic agreements, imposing tariffs, etc., with any other sovereign state, subject to the limitations set forth here.

- e. Administration by the Regional Senate of various intra-Regional economic, educational and other institutions, similar to those controlled by the World Vocational Senate (see page 52).
- f. Each Regional Federation may amend its Basic Constitution by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of its member-states, so as to achieve a closer co-union—as, for instance, common currency, customs, commodity and public works organizations.

*Comment:* In general, the structure and the relationship of the Regional Governments to the World Government are comparable to those of the state governments to the Federal Government in the United States. The powers of the Regional Government are even more limited than the powers of The World Federation Government, and there is very little that the Regional Government can do without the consent of its member-states. Nevertheless, the structure and the organs are there for the future peaceful development of a closer partnership between the member-states.

The amendment provision (sub-paragraph 53-f) offers wide scope for the natural evolution of the governments of the various Regions. The Regional Federations differ considerably in their economic and cultural conditions; the member-states within them also differ to a certain extent, and separating many of them are accumulated historical hatreds and suspicions. Each Region, therefore, must be given time to evolve the constitution best fitted to its needs.



#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN REGIONAL FEDERATION

54. In the American Regional Federation, the presidency and the capital shall alternate between the United States and each of the six largest Latin-American republics. Whenever the United States selects the Regional President, the Latin-American republics shall select, in all, six of the eleven Regional Trustees. Whenever a Latin-American republic selects the Regional President, the United States shall select six of the eleven Regional Trustees. Representation in the Regional Supreme Court shall be similarly determined.\* Half the Vocational Senators shall be from the United States and the other half from Latin America.

*Comment:* In the case of the American Regional Federation, we are dealing with the largest number of sovereign states of any Region (twenty-one), and we are also dealing with two widely different psycho-social patterns—a bloc of 130 million North Americans and a bloc of 120 million Latin Americans. Yet these two vast blocs of peoples can be harmoniously integrated within one Region, and without jeopardizing the sovereignty of the smallest of states.

*Without* The World Federation and the American Regional Federation, the Latin Americans, in spite of their great civilization, have no sure defense against possible vicious forms of American imperialism. *With* The World Federation, the Latin-American nations, with their enormous physical resources, can freely cooperate with the North Americans in the common task of creating a new synthesis of the best elements of Latin American and North American cultures.

By the means described in this paragraph, the Latin-American republics obtain an *absolute equality of power* with the United States, maintaining a perfect equilibrium between the North and South American continents, and implementing with strong, practical machinery the Good Neighbor Policy and Pan-American ideals.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE MALAYSIAN REGIONAL FEDERATION

55. The Malaysian Regional Federation shall have a modified Basic Constitution, wherein the United States, as Special Trustee, shall be temporarily represented in its Regional Government until the eventual plebiscite establishes a separate sovereign status. The United States shall select the Regional President and half of the Regional Senators. The House of Regional Trustees shall consist of three Trustees representing the Philippines (sovereign); three representing the Netherlands East Indies (under Netherlands' sovereignty); two representing Indo-China (under French sovereignty); two representing Thailand, which shall be a sovereign democratic state, organized along the lines of the Philippines; and one from the smaller Pacific islands.

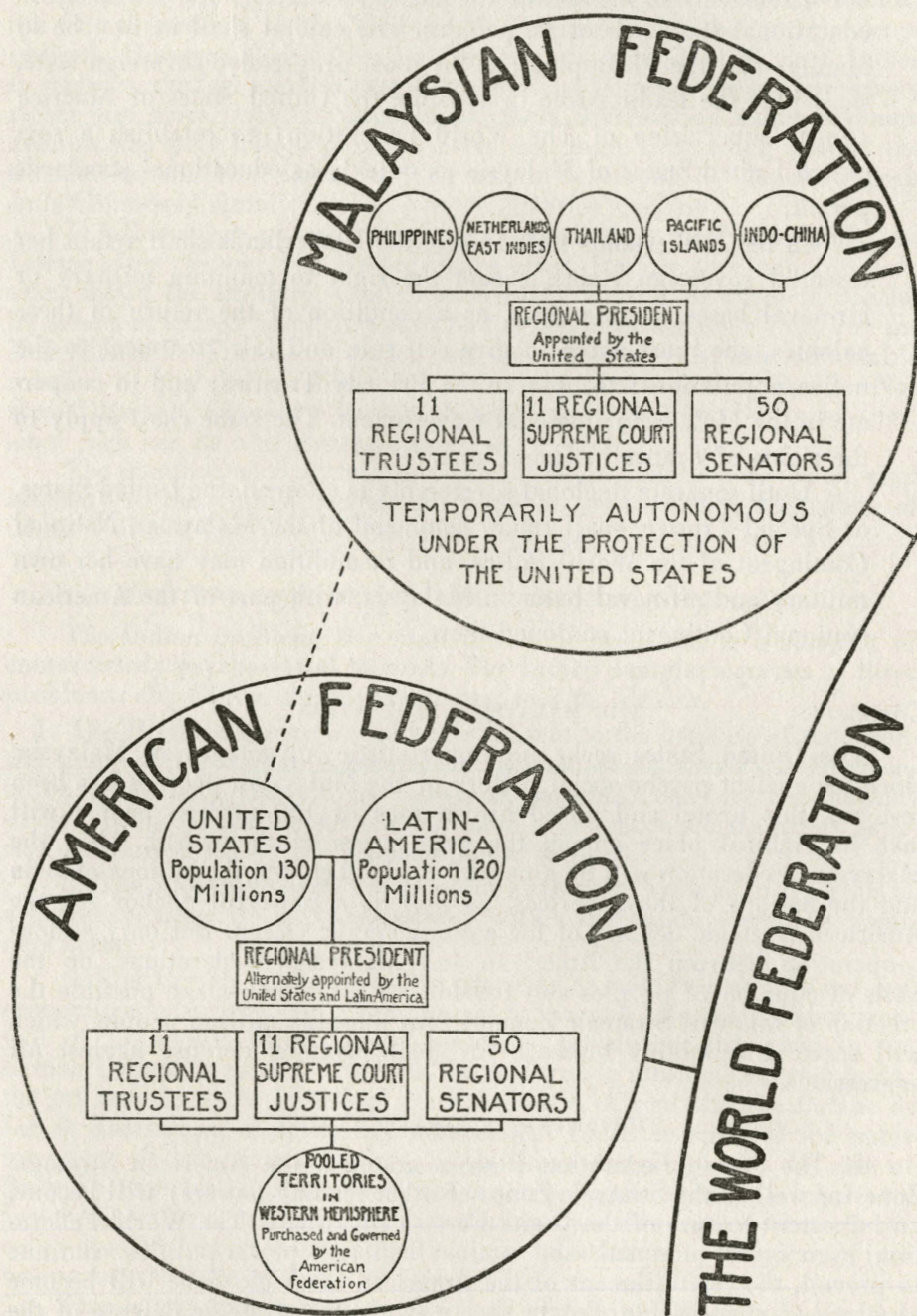
Unlike other Regional Governments, the Vocational Senate of the Malaysian Federation shall have equal powers with the Regional Trustees. The concurrent vote of no fewer than thirty-one Senators

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\* For the purpose of Regional representation, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica and the Republic of Panama shall be considered as one state.



# RELATIONSHIP OF AMERICAN AND MALAYSIAN FEDERATIONS





or the vote of no fewer than seven Trustees, together with the approval of the President, shall be final. The vote of thirty-one Senators and seven Trustees shall override the veto of the President.

Added powers shall be given the Government of the Malaysian Federation for the establishment of a Regional police force, customs union and currency, and for the development of the economic and educational standards of its peoples. The capital shall at first be in Manila; and the Philippines, as the most progressive sovereign state, shall play the leading role in assisting the United States of America (under supervision of The World Federation) to establish a sovereign United States of Malaysia as quickly as educational standards permit.

In the Netherlands East Indies, the Netherlands shall retain her essential sovereign rights, except the right to maintain military or air-naval bases. Furthermore, as a condition of the return of these colonies, she must agree to give self-rule and fair treatment to the native populations; to observe the Priority Treaties; and to cooperate in the Malaysian Regional Government. The same shall apply to the rights of France in Indo-China.

Until separate Regional sovereignty is attained, the United States, as Special Trustee, shall retain command of the Malaysian National Contingent of the World Police, and in addition may have her own military and air-naval bases in Malaysia, with part of the American National Contingent stationed there.

*Comment:*

THE MALAYSIAN FEDERATION

The United States seeks no imperialistic advantages in Malaysia. Once the ancient psycho-social pattern of the Malaysian peoples has been restored, this proud and gifted brown race of 150 million people will take its rightful place among the great races of the world. Then the Malaysian Federation will be a natural bridge between the nations of Asia and the nations of the Americas, as well as a powerful anchor for the American strategic defense of the eastern Pacific Ocean. But only a close cooperation between the American and Malaysian Federations, on the basis of equality of peoples and freedom of states, can make possible the creation of this vast Strategic Zone of four hundred million people, which will serve as a mighty bulwark for their common defense against all aggressions.

THE AMERICAN STRATEGIC ZONE

If The World Federation Plan is adopted, the American Strategic Zone (as well as the Strategic Zones of other leading powers) will become an important feature of the Quota Force Principle. If The World Federation Plan is *not* adopted, and nationalism and power-politics continue to prevail, the establishment of the American Strategic Zone will become absolutely indispensable. For in such a world the strategic defense of the Western Hemisphere could not long be maintained unless the United States had full control of the western Atlantic and the eastern Pacific. Full control could be exercised only by occupying a chain of military and naval-



air bases in the outlying islands of the western Atlantic and eastern Pacific, and on parts of the continent of Asia.

It would be suicidal for the United States to allow any other power to obtain military lodgement in any part of these key territories. Already, the cost to us of the Marshall and Caroline Islands, so magnanimously handed over to Japan after the First World War, is staggering. If the Netherlands were permitted to keep its own bases in the eastern Pacific, the future security of the Western Hemisphere might be gravely jeopardized. However heroically the Netherlands defended its East Indies in this war, the fact remains that although these possessions are immensely richer and more populous than Japan, their contribution to the common defense was only half a dozen cruisers and some destroyers, against the tremendous military, naval and air might developed by Japan. French Indo-China was simply handed over to America's enemy.

It follows that in restoring these possessions to the Netherlands and France after the war, the United States must, for her own and for their sake, retain the military (not imperialistic) control of these territories by means of leased bases. It would be the height of strategic folly for the Netherlands or France to oppose such an eminently just and reasonable solution of the vital problem of the defense of the eastern Pacific. Nor should Britain, China, or Russia object to the American Strategic Zone, since each has its own Strategic Zone.

The establishment of the American Strategic Zone is a matter of vital necessity to the United States, and must be accomplished regardless of whether or not The World Federation is adopted.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN REGIONAL FEDERATION

The Indian problem, like most historical problems, is a complex of contradictory psycho-social interests. The Indian complex consists of three problems: the Hindu, the Mohammedan, and the British.

1. The Hindu majority would never consent to the breakup of the essential unity of the Indian sub-continent, which would mean the fragmentation of its 6000-year-old psycho-social pattern. Therefore Sir Stafford Cripps' proposal for the division of India into two or more entirely separate Dominions was entirely unacceptable to them.

2. The Mohammedans would never consent to remain in the role of a perpetual minority party, especially within the Hindu system of dominant castes.

3. The British, while probably prepared to give fullest political and economic concessions, could not consent to transfer effective military control of India into other hands—certainly not during this war. In the British Commonwealth of Nations, India forms a strategic central body; the military bases in India can control eastern Africa and the Pacific as far as Australasia. A militarily independent India, in spite of the noble intentions of her present leaders, *might* throw her weight on the side of Britain's enemies. Furthermore, no country in the world is inherently better suited for a native fascist dictatorship than this caste-ridden, chaotically divided, yet rapidly industrializing sub-continent. Democracy is a hollow word where millions of humans are "untouchable."

This is not an argument in favor of continuing Britain's domination of India. But until The World Federation substitutes International Law for power-politics, the vital strategic interests of Britain in India must be safeguarded.



Within the framework of The World Federation and of the Indian Regional Federation, a solution of this complex of problems can be worked out. The following is the solution suggested:

56. The autonomous Indian Regional Federation shall possess full Dominion status. It may attain the status of a sovereign Regional Federation by arrangement with Britain or (automatically) upon a World Federation plebiscite based on a reasonable minimum educational standard. It shall consist of at least two sovereign states: the Hindu (now led by the Congress Party) and the Mohammedan (Pakistan). In addition, there may be a number of smaller sovereign states such as the Princes' states, or states with highly mixed Mohammedan and Hindu populations. All these states shall be held together by a common foreign policy, customs union, currency, police force and other Federation institutions of common weal. In other respects, each state shall be sovereign.

The Indian Regional Government shall consist of eleven Trustees: six chosen by the sovereign Hindu state, three by the sovereign Mohammedan state, and two by the smaller sovereign states. At least half of the sixty Vocational Senators shall be selected by the larger Hindu state. Until separate Regional sovereignty has been attained, the President shall be selected by the British Crown, but shall have only nominal powers. The executive power shall be vested in a Prime Minister, selected by the Regional Trustees and Vocational Senate and responsible to them. After Regional sovereignty has been attained, the executive power shall be vested in a Regional President selected as prescribed in the Basic Constitution for sovereign Regions (see page 54).

Until separate Regional sovereignty is attained, Britain shall have the economic rights of a member-state in the Indian Federation, but no political power. She shall also retain command of the Indian National Contingent of the World Police and in addition may have her own military and air-naval bases in India, garrisoned by part of the British National Contingent.

The World Federation shall guarantee the establishment of the Indian Regional Federation either during or immediately after the war. It shall also undertake to provide complete cultural and religious freedom for all the minorities within the Indian sovereign states.

*Comment:* It is only with this or some similar arrangement that the three basic contradictions of the Indian problem can be resolved: the necessity of maintaining India's fundamental psycho-social unity; the just demands of the Hindu majority in parts of India and of the Mohammedan majority in other parts of India, each for a free and sovereign status; and those strategic and economic interests of Britain in India which are not based on imperialistic domination.



WHAT ARE THE CHANCES THAT  
THE WORLD FEDERATION PLAN WILL BE ACCEPTED?

A system of World Settlement, however desirable, is of little value unless it has a chance of being adopted. Psychologically, that plan or system is most likely to be adopted which not only fulfills a long-felt need, but which does so with the minimum amount of opposition within the nations and among them. On this basis, The World Federation Plan, in spite of its new approach and great scope, has a remarkably good chance of being adopted. It was expressly designed to be approved by practically all the nations of the world. To illustrate this, let us consider the position of the powers which will play the leading roles in the World Settlement after the Axis' defeat.

*Great Britain:* It has become evident, even to many Englishmen, that the British Empire as constituted today cannot long survive. The sprawling empire is threatened on every side by vast blocs of industrialized nations, and the dangers, far from decreasing after this war, will increase—there will be threats from revived Europe and from new industrial giants such as China and the Middle East, or even India.

England tried the balance-of-power policy, and it failed. She tried the League of Nations, and that failed also. After this war, England might attempt a domination of Europe by establishing, under some high-sounding name (such as "European Planning Authority") an economic and military dictatorship of a "New Europe"—a la Hitler, but in reverse English. Such an attempt would also fail; for, aligned against her, England would find Russia, most of Europe, and eventually the United States, probably with some of the British Dominions.

England cannot simultaneously maintain the largest navy, the largest air force and the largest army; nor can she at the same time defend her overseas Empire, engage in world-wide trade to maintain the high standard of living in her overpopulated island, and hold off the continental powers of Europe and Asia.

A permanent partnership with the United States may be the best solution to Britain's post-war problems. But there are certain obstacles to this. There are, for instance, millions of Americans who suspect the motives of the British "Ruling Class," fearing that after this war England will once again emerge with a bigger, if not better, British Empire, leaving the United States holding the lend-lease bag. The World Federation Plan removes this American objection to post-war support of Britain and makes a true co-union of the English-speaking commonwealths practicable.

The World Federation guarantees the existence of the British Empire substantially as it is except for India, offering Britain a unique opportunity to resolve her inner contradictions without danger of future aggression.

*Russia:* To Russia, The World Federation Plan offers a guarantee of collective security against aggression from Europe or Asia. Within her own Strategic Zone (page 31), protected by her own Quota of Armed Forces, Russia is free to continue her great experiment unmolested, and yet is welcomed into the family of nations on a basis of absolute equality. There is no other way in which Russia can feel lastingly secure in the post-war world against the threat of a coalition of capitalist powers. The government of Soviet Russia is too realistic to trust the good intentions of the Anglo-Americans after their common enemy has been defeated. Unless Russia obtains *effective guarantees* of post-war security (as she will under The World Federation Plan) she too, in self-defense, will have



to resort to power-politics, seeking to profit by every disorder or war among her neighbors. Thus, Russia might be a constant threat to the nations of Europe and Asia.

The World Federation Plan offers Russia and her neighbors irrevocable guarantees of security. Such a solution of the Russian problem would do more (even during the war) to unite Russia with her allies than a hundred solemn treaties.

*China:* The World Federation Plan assures the termination of a national nightmare which began with the Boxer Rebellion—the partition of China. The Plan enables her to reassemble her severed parts and become a whole and prosperous nation, with a vast Strategic Zone of her own (see page 31). It permanently guarantees her sovereignty and finally liberates her from the threat of White domination—economically and militarily. Furthermore, The World Federation enables China to develop industrially without exciting the fears of other great nations. Without The World Federation, power-politics might dictate that other nations should sooner or later strike at China, to prevent her five hundred million people from becoming too powerful industrially, and therefore militarily. For China, as well as for other nations, The World Federation, with its Quota Force Principle, is the only practical and lasting substitute for power-politics.

*Other Nations:* It is not necessary to enumerate in detail the equally great advantages offered to other nations. Turkey will once more become the central state of the ancient Arabian Empire, now revived in the Middle Eastern Federation. Poland, squeezed from the west and the east by the Germans and the Russians, will realize the dream she has treasured since medieval times. But instead of trying to hack her way by force to the Baltic and the Black seas, she will find the way open through voluntary cooperation with her sister nations in the Middle European Federation. France, Italy and Spain, separately, would be doomed to vassalage under the Germans or the Anglo-Americans. Reunited in a powerful Latin bloc, they will resume their historic civilizing role. France, with her vast possessions and non-increasing population, will gain by taking her natural allies into partnership and giving them a common stake to defend.

As for the smaller nations of the world, the enormous advantages of The World Federation have been discussed elsewhere. Without The World Federation, each small nation would either have to seek a powerful protector (and pay heavily for that protection) or eventually perish. Under the Quota Force Principle, the weak individual nations can become the strongest collective power on earth—an impregnable bulwark of lasting freedom and peace.

*United States:* American public opinion is of great importance to the adoption of The World Federation Plan. Accordingly, the Plan was designed to fit the psychological structure of the American mass mind.

Few nations in the world are as idealistic as the American nation, and none is so successfully materialistic. Almost any American mind is a battlefield for these opposing tendencies.

There are millions of Americans, materialistically inclined, who have little interest or faith in saving the world. History has convinced them that force is paramount and permanent, and that there is no substitute for power-politics. They want to know what their own country will get out of this war for its greater security and power.



There are millions of other Americans, idealistically inclined, grateful to God for the blessings He has bestowed upon the nation, or inspired by the spiritual might of their country, who wish to give from its plenitude to tortured humanity.

The American materialists are determined that *this time* America's own military security and power shall be perpetuated; the idealists are determined that *this time* a better and more just World Order shall emerge from the war. The materialists do not want the rest of the world to cheat America; the idealists do not want America to cheat the rest of the world.

No plan of World Settlement can succeed unless it satisfies the demands of both these basic groups of Americans. A middle way will not do; for in our democracy each side is strong enough to prevent the other side from realizing its post-war plans. This fundamental and traditional cleavage, which cuts across political lines, will continue, for it corresponds to the two different solutions of the fundamental problem of security for the United States. There is a similar traditional cleavage between the isolationists (some of whom are idealists) and the internationalists (some of whom are materialists).

Assuming that the Axis is defeated, the United States can defend itself against future aggression in one of two ways:

1. The United States can make itself militarily powerful enough to be practically independent of the rest of the world. This it can achieve by creating a vast Strategic Zone.

2. The United States can save itself by saving the world. This it can achieve by using its tremendous power to help establish a new World Order in which effective aggression will be impossible.

Internationalists will object that the first solution resolves nothing; that it will not eliminate or even reduce the incidence of war. Isolationists will object that any plan for lasting peace is but a dream, and that "to be prepared for war is the best way of preserving peace." There is many a slip, they insist, between the lip-service of the politicians and the Cup of Peace.

The true solution is *both* solutions. Any plan which excludes either solution has very little chance of adoption by the American nation.

Nothing is as important to the American nation as *unity*, not only during but after the war. The only way to maintain that unity long enough to win the peace is by establishing a Positive Ideal wherein both the materialists and the idealists will have an equally vital stake. The materialists may scoff at the pound-foolishness of the idealists' proposed World Order; but they will be paid off in the materialistic coin of the American Strategic Zone. The idealists may scorn the penny-wiseness of the materialists; but they will be paid off in the idealistic coin of The World Federation.

To the materialists, and to the incurable cynics about world peace, it may be pointed out that The World Federation Plan avoids Wilson's tragic error: it does not put all the eggs into one idealistic basket. In entrusting its destiny to The World Federation Plan, the United States runs no risk whatsoever. If the promise of lasting peace is betrayed, the American nation will still have the "insurance" of the American Strategic Zone. Together with her neighbors—400 million strong—America will be powerful enough to remain isolated or to throw a decisive weight against future aggressors. But if it becomes clear that The World Federation and its Quota Force Principle are operating smoothly, then even the



most hardened cynic must admit that there will no longer be the precautionary need for the American Strategic Zone.

There will be some who may object to The World Federation Plan, not on any specific grounds, but with the general argument that the whole System is too new and untested by history. Let them be reminded that in the year 1291 the selectmen of three tiny Swiss Cantons met in a field and took an oath of Perpetual Alliance against the war lords who threatened their peace and freedom. The Alliance grew and endured for more than six centuries, in spite of wide differences in language, religion and economic structure. This was because each Canton retained its full freedom but created a special organism—the Federation—to carry on the common defense. What the Swiss did on a microscopic scale, the United Nations can now do on a world scale.

But time is terribly short. We must lay the foundation now for the peace to come. The battle of peace must be won during the next few years. To be won, it must be planned *now*. Every day lost in preparation decreases our chance of winning the true peace, and increases the chance for future wars.

Every thoughtful man is aware of the enormous power of an idea. An idea germinates when the soil is favorable, as it is now, because never in history has there been such yearning for freedom from war. The World Federation Plan is the embodiment of an idea. But, in order to become an active force, the greatest idea needs time to become known, understood and developed as a movement. Once this Plan is made known to a sufficient number of people, it will become a powerful, perhaps an irresistible, force on the side of victorious peace.

There is no denying the magnitude of the task of establishing The World Federation. But the American people have never been afraid of the *size* of the truth. Therefore, all those who believe in The World Federation should exert all their efforts to win the peace (in addition to winning the war) by making this Plan known and understood. By so doing they can best serve their country and the world.

In the First World War, two million young Americans crossed the Atlantic. They returned victorious. Their fathers, being unprepared, lost the peace. This time, millions of other young Americans are crossing the oceans. Once more they will win the battles of war. Again, their fathers are unprepared for the Battle of Peace. The World Federation Plan is offered so that "*it shall not happen again!*"



## IF YOU WISH TO HELP . . .

We are convinced that The World Federation Plan will help to write the coming Treaty of Peace—if it can be made clearly known to the American people and to the people of other countries. This can be done only by general discussion and by educational propaganda.

### THEREFORE:

1. Spare no effort to promote discussion of The World Federation Plan as it is outlined in this booklet.

2. Send copies of this booklet to your friends or to others who should know about the Plan. The important thing is to make as many people as possible *read* the entire Plan. We have made thousands of friends already, and most of them became our friends after reading the Plan carefully, not merely skimming through it.

3. The best way for you to help the Plan is by encouraging others to read this booklet. We will be glad to mail additional copies at 25 cents each, or at reduced prices in lots of fifteen or more copies.

## ABOUT THE WORLD FEDERATION, INC.

The World Federation, Inc., is a non-profit membership corporation with a charter issued by the State of New York. It is strictly non-partisan, abstaining from political or ideological activities and disinterested in the internal affairs of any nation. The only object of The World Federation, Inc., is to cause the adoption of The World Federation Plan. To accomplish this, it will endeavor:

1. To make the Plan known to the peoples of the world by an intensive educational campaign;

2. To organize supporters of the Plan on a non-partisan basis;

3. To present the Plan for the consideration of the governments of the United Nations, after obtaining a certain amount of enlightened support.

We believe that by helping us you will contribute to the establishment of lasting peace in the world—and at the same time you will be helping our country to win a quicker and more decisive victory.

Your effort on behalf of The World Federation Plan cannot be wasted. If the Plan is adopted, you will have contributed to the greatest and most beneficial revolution in history. If the Plan is not adopted, its concreteness and realism will nevertheless lead to the development of an even better plan, to the lasting good of humanity.

THE WORLD FEDERATION, INC.



**THIS "Summary of the World Federation Plan" is only a summary. Space does not permit full explanation of the historical events now occurring, or analysis of the forces of power-politics, geo-politics, balance of power, nationalism and ideology, as well as the all-important economic, military and propaganda factors, which dominate each leading nation in its relations with other nations. The new and striking solutions proposed by Mr. Culbertson in his already-famous World Federation Plan are based to a large extent upon new and striking discoveries, not mentioned in the Summary, in the fields of mass psychology and the structure of societies.**

**MR. CULBERTSON** has been working for several years on the master book of which this Summary of the Plan is but a part. This comprehensive and yet simple work, titled **"TOTAL PEACE,"** will be published in June, 1943, by Doubleday, Doran and Company, Garden City, N. Y. Price per copy will be \$2.50. Advance orders are now being received.

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